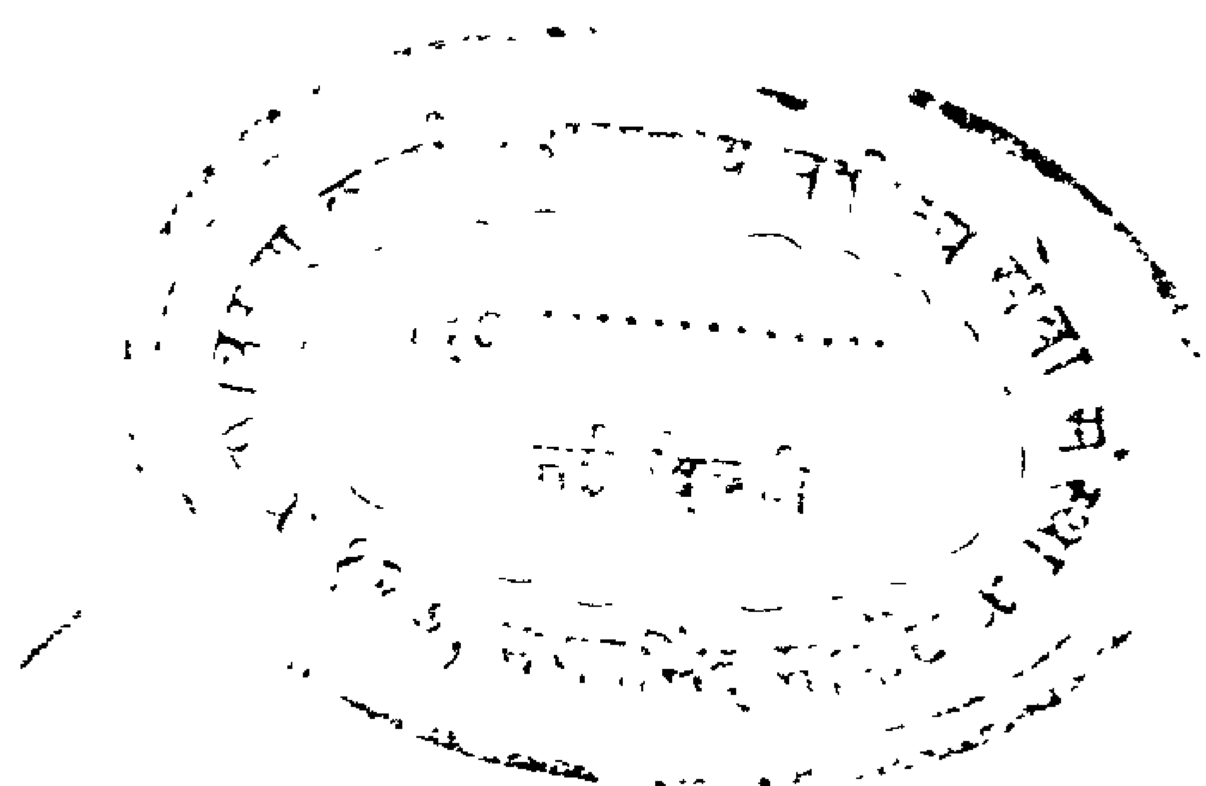

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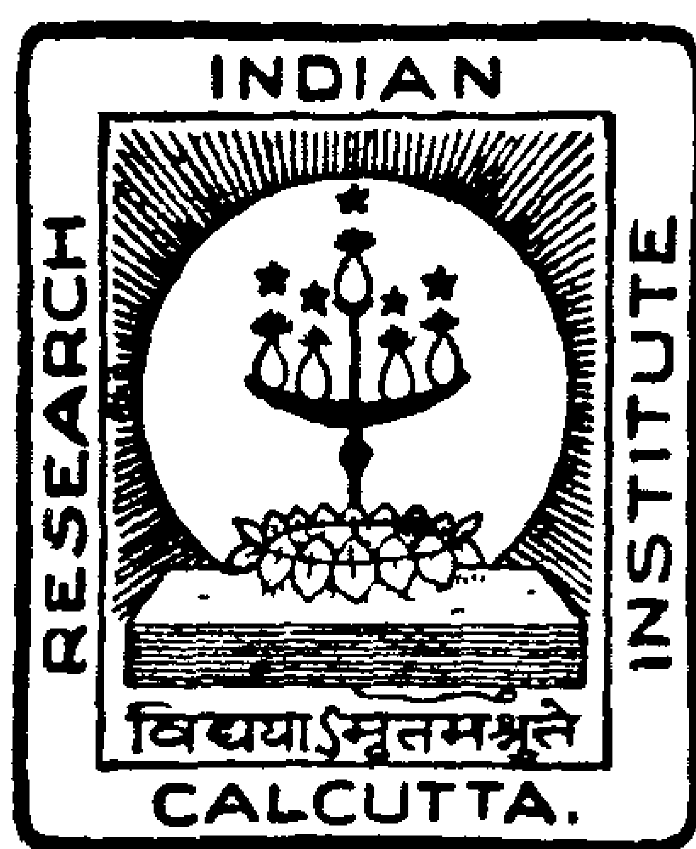


ĀCĀRYA-PUṢPĀÑJALI VOLUME

(In honour of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar)

General Editor

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1940

ĀCĀRYA PUṢPĀÑJALI VOLUME.

(In honour of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

It was decided at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian Research Institute held on the 11th March, 1938, to present a Volume of Essays to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.R A.S.B. in appreciation of the most valuable services he has rendered to the Indian History and Culture and particularly for the services he has rendered to the cause of the Indian Research Institute by being an editor of its Journal "Indian Culture" now one of the foremost journals on Indology, presiding over the first Indian Cultural Conference held under the auspices of this Institute and also being the permanent President of the Council of the Indian Cultural Conference. He has also offered his very valuable Library which is a treasure-house to every lover of Indology as a free gift to the Institute, although unfortunately the Institute has not as yet been able to make permanent arrangement for its accomodation.

In accordance with the said resolution of the Executive Committee, a board of editors was formed with Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L., (Chairman), Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., Dr, B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit., Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Ph.D., Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D., Sir Safaat Ahmad Khan, Kt., M.A., Prof. Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan, Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.Phil., Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana., Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, D.Lit., D.Phil., Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., and Mr. S. C. Seal, M.A., B.L. (Secretary). Dr. B. C. Law, who is a great patron of the Indian Research Institute kindly agreed to be its general editor and also to finance the project. Several meetings of the editorial board were held at the Indian Museum to devise ways and means to make the Volume which was designated as 'Ācārya Puṣpāñjali Volume' worthy of its name. The editors wrote letters to many indologists for their contributions. The general editor, Dr. B. C. Law himself also secured several articles from eminent indologists of India

and Europe. It was then decided that the Most Hon'ble Marquess of Zetland should be approached for a Foreword, and he was accordingly written to. But unfortunately, possibly due to war, his foreword was not received. However, it is most gratifying to note that this volume is adorned with contributions from savants all over the world.

We could not however, make suitable arrangements to hold this ceremonial meeting in a more befitting manner due to our limited resources. It is hoped however, that Dr. Bhandarkar who is rather identified with the cause of this Institute would excuse us for our short-comings and accept this volume, nicely printed and executed due to patronage of Dr. B. C. Law, as an offering of our respectful homage to him.

ADDRESS

To

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B.

Sir,

We, the patrons, members and office-bearers of the Indian Research Institute of Calcutta, most cordially and respectfully offer you this "Ācārya Puṣpāñjali," a Volume of articles and papers contributed by your friends, admirers and pupils consisting of distinguished scholars from all parts of India and Europe prompted by the single desire of doing honour to your sound scholarship and your imperishable contribution to the History, Civilisation and Culture of our Motherland. The unique feature of this Volume is the range and variety of subjects selected by scholars whose learned contributions adorn its pages. If we look at the table of contents, we find the names of such world-renowned savants as Prof. H. Lüders, Prof. Sten Konow, Dr. Josef Strzygowski, Prof. A. B. Keith, MM. Dr. Ganganath Jha and Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. Another interesting fact is that the Volume contains learned and thoughtful articles from the pen of three European ladies well-known in the realm of letters.

To-day's presentation ceremony reminds us of a similar occasion when a like Volume was presented to your revered and distinguished father, the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar about a quarter of a century ago by a galaxy of brilliant scholars, Indian and European. We are also reminded of the words which that great son of Bengal, the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, used when conferring on you the Honorary Degree of Ph.D. of the Calcutta University in 1921. He said: Your "bold and brilliant excursions into many an unknown tract of Ancient Indian

History have furnished fresh evidence of the law of heredity," and your "colleagues rejoice to find in you, not a chip of the old block, but the old block itself."

We are proud of our association with a profound votary of learning, a devoted scholar of international repute like you. Your ceaseless pursuit of truth as evidenced by your activities as an Honorary Fellow of our Indian Research Institute and one of the Editors of its journal the "Indian Culture" since its inception is a page of absorbing interest in the history of Indian scholarship.

We are deeply grateful to you for the valuable service rendered by you as the General President of the First Indian Cultural Conference organised under the auspices of the Indian Research Institute and as the President of the Council of the Indian Cultural Conference. We share with the rest of our countrymen the great honour that you have brought to our country, culture and civilisation by the production of a series of monumental works on Ancient Indian History and Numismatics, revealing the depth of scholarship rare even among historians of the first magnitude.

Sir, allow us to avail ourselves of this opportunity of placing on record our sense of thankfulness to you for the tireless energy and vigilant care you have always displayed for the promotion of the interests of this Institute which you hold so dear to your heart. Had this not been the case, you would not have decided long ago to present your magnificent library consisting of a wonderful collection of rare books to this Institute.

Dr. Bhandarkar, allow us now to offer you this *puṣpāñjali* consisting of the choicest flowers of learned contributions by savants and scholars from the various quarters of the globe.

We beg to subscribe
Ourselves

The 12th July, 1940.
Calcutta.

Patrons, Members and Office-Bearers
of the Indian Research Institute.



Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B.

THIS VOLUME OF ARTICLES
CONTRIBUTED BY HIS ADMIRERS, FRIENDS, AND PUPILS,
IS PRESENTED TO
DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D., F.R.A.S.B.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

PREFACE

In 1938 we desired to publish a volume of articles written by friends, admirers, and pupils of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who, as we know, has devoted his whole life to further the study of ancient Indian history and archæology. As a mark of appreciation of the excellent service he has already rendered to this branch of study, and is still rendering even at the sacrifice of his health in his old age, this volume has been prepared. We are thankful to the Almighty God for the fulfilment of our long-cherished desire.

We are grateful to all those who have extended their hearty co-operation in this work and it is for the public to judge how far we have succeeded in completing an appropriate presentation volume dedicated to a scholar whose name will be ever remembered by those working in the field of Ancient Indian History, Archæology, and Numismatics. Lastly, we shall be failing in our duty if we do not acknowledge our indebtedness to the Committee of the Indian Research Institute which has undertaken to publish this volume.

B. C. LAW.

43, Kailas Bose Street,
Calcutta,
June, 1940.

D. R. BHANDARKAR AS A SCHOLAR, ARCHÆOLOGICAL OFFICER AND UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR[1]

How D. R. Bhandarkar was attracted to the study of the history of Ancient India and how he came to join the Archaeological Department cannot but be a subject of great interest to the Indian scholar of to-day. He passed his B.A. Examination from the Bombay University in 1896 from the Deccan College, Poona, and was in a way compelled to take up the Law course of the Bombay University. In fact, he appeared and passed the first LL.B. Examination in the following year. But just as he was studying for this examination, his attention was drawn to a Calendar of the Bombay University and to a page in that volume which announced 'A brief Survey of the Ancient Towns and Cities of Mahārāshṭra country in the pre-Mahomedan period, i.e., 1000 A.D.', as a theme for 1897 for the Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji Gold Medal and Prize. He used to go to the library of his father and remain there for upwards of an hour in the evening when the latter was out for his exercise or for attending meetings. There he incidentally one evening saw the University Calendar on his father's table and also the subject prescribed for the Bhagwanlal Indraji Gold Medal and Prize for 1897. The subject was no doubt of ravishing interest to a young graduate, especially to a young man in whose veins ran freely the blood of a veteran research scholar, his own revered father. The young Bhandarkar also knew that the information required for his subject was to be gleaned from the Volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, some of which he read many an evening when his father was away from the house. In two or three months that were at his disposal he collected as much information as he could, completed his thesis somehow and sent it to the Registrar, Bombay University, with a temerity at which a grown-up man would stand aghast. The thesis, of course, did not carry off the gold medal as it did not reach the standard of originality, but carried a prize as it contained exhaustive and well-presented information. When the news reached the ears of the father, he was both angry and glad,—angry because his son submitted a thesis which was not sufficiently original and glad because his son wrote a thesis within three months' time and without anybody's help at all, which nevertheless was of sufficient

[1] The above sketch is based mainly upon the materials collected by a devoted pupil and friend of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who passed away some time ago.

merit to deserve a prize. Anyhow the result was that D. R. Bhandarkar was asked by his father to discontinue his studies for the second LL.B. Examination and prepare himself for M.A. in Languages (English and Sanskrit) with Optional Paper in 'Pali and Palaeography' corresponding to 'Ancient History and Epigraphy' of modern times. This new course of study was so well suited to his cast of mind that before he appeared for his M.A., he wrote two papers which were both published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX. The first of these was *The Nausari Copper-plate Charter of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa Prince Karkka I, dated 738*, and the second: *A Kushana stone-inscription and the question about the origin of the Śaka era.* The first was written 'under the general supervision' of his father, who thereafter left his son completely to himself to think in his own way and write in his own style. The second paper created some sensation and was very favourably reviewed by the French savant, A. Barth, in the *Journal* of the French Institute. Barth agreed with D. R. Bhandarkar in everything that he said except in the view that the Kushāṇa dates were Śaka years with two hundreds omitted. In particular, he approved of the order of succession among the Indo-Scythian princes which the young Bhandarkar determined with the help of their coins. Even prior to the review of the French savant, the elder Bhandarkar expressed his entire concurrence in his son's view in his article *A Peep into the Early History of India, etc.* which was published in the *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XX, p. 373 and n. 29 and p. 374 and n. 30. In fact, this order of succession settled by D. R. Bhandarkar was accepted by V. A. Smith in the article he contributed to *Z.D.M.G.*, 1906, pp. 59 and ff., though in his *Early History of India* he refers to his own article and thus not directly to his indebtedness to Bhandarkar for this view. The two articles were written by D. R. Bhandarkar before 1900, that is, before he became an M.A. Soon after he passed this examination, he was attached to the Bombay Office of Census of India, 1901, under R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S., and gave help in the writing-out of Chapters III and VIII relating to *Religion and Sect* and *Caste and Tribe* respectively, for which his name has been mentioned in the *Report*, Pt. I, p. 251. He was also Honorary Assistant Superintendent of the Ethnological Survey of Bombay and helped the Superintendent in the collection and compilation of materials; see e.g. the note on p. 17 of R. E. Enthoven's *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I, which shows that the article on Ahirs who form an important tribe of India was mainly composed by Bhandarkar. In 1902 he contributed to the *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (Vol. XXI, pp. 392 and ff.) three *Epigraphic Notes and Questions*, the last of which was *Dighwa-Dubauli Plate of Mahēndrapāla and*

Bengal As. Soc.'s Plate of Vināyakapāla and in November following he contributed another on *Gurjaras* which showed how this second important foreign tribe penetrated India, ruled over the different parts of the country and was finally merged into the Hindu population. These two papers were considered to be of such paramount importance that no less a veteran scholar than A. F. Rudolf Hoernle was impelled to explain and further support the main position of D. R. Bhandarkar in regard to the Gurjara Empire which was practically a new chapter which he added to the History of Ancient India. 'The object of this essay,' says the late Dr. Hoernle in *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, pp. 639 and ff., 'is not so much to propound a new theory of my own, as to draw more prominent attention to one put forth by Mr. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in two papers contributed by him to the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1903. They are entitled *Gurjaras* and *Epigraphic Notes and Questions, No. III.* Stated quite briefly, the theory is that the well-known "kings of Mahodaya" were Gurjaras. Mr. Bhandarkar does not claim the whole credit of it for himself. Much of his material, as he himself admits, has been drawn by him from the *Bombay Gazetteer*. But he has added to it new material and fresh points of view, and worked up the whole into a consistent theory. To me it appears that, in the main, the theory is sound, and throws unexpected light on a period of Indian history until now very dark.' Then he proceeds to set forth the main outlines of Mr. Bhandarkar's theory. But 'the crucial point of it', says he rightly, 'is the correct reading of the dates occurring in the land-grants . . . . I am convinced that Mr. Bhandarkar's readings are correct.' And he further proceeds to adduce multifarious reasons in support of his position. Up till then the dates were read as 100, 155 and 188, and referred to the Harsha era. This view had been propounded by no less scholars than J. F. Fleet and F. Kielhorn, the latter of whom was looked upon as the highest authority on palaeography after the demise of G. Bühler. Such was, however, the cogency of Bhandarkar's arguments that even Kielhorn was brought round to his view. This Göttingen Professor commenced his notice of 'Gwalior Inscription of Mihira Bhōja', exactly as follows: 'Scholars who take an interest in Indian epigraphy are aware that there has been a difference of opinion regarding the dates of three copper-plate inscriptions [Nos. 542, 544 and 710 of my *Northern List*] which were issued from Mahōdaya (Kanauj). According to Dr. Fleet and myself those plates were dated in the years 100, 155 and 188 (of the Harṣa era corresponding roughly to A.D. 705, 760 and 793); according to Mr. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar they would be dated in the years 900, 955 and 988 (of the Vikrama era, corre-

sponding approximately to A.D. 843, 898 and 931). When a short time ago I had occasion to refer to this controversy, I ventured to say that the whole question would probably be definitely settled by one or the other of the numerous unedited inscriptions which were known to exist in Northern India, and the publication of which could not be recommended too earnestly. What I then only hoped has become true much sooner than I could have expected. For the question is really settled now—in favour of Mr. Bhandarkar's views . . . .' (*Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1905, Heft 2, pp. 1 and ff.) This Gwalior Inscription of Mihira Bhōja so completely convinced Kielhorn about the correctness of Dr. Bhandarkar's view that he sent a copy of the article to him with 'To show *at once* that I have been wrong—F. K.' written upon its title-page. Many people have since then written upon the Pratihāra Empire of Kanauj, fully utilizing their land-grants for the historical purpose, but hardly ever dreaming that it was Dr. Bhandarkar who in 1902 through his research work threw this flood of light on a period of Indian History which was dark till then. At any rate, this research work of his made a deep impression on the mind of two civilians of the Bombay Presidency, A. M. T. Jackson and R. E. Enthoven, who were worthily treading in the footsteps of Sir James Campbell by blending in themselves scholarship with administrative capacity. The former of these, of his own accord, sent for D. R. Bhandarkar and placed a problem of casuistry before him to solve within three days: whether he should take up an appointment in the Revenue Department where he would have quick promotion and ever-increasing power, or in the Archaeological Department where promotion would be doubtful and nomadic life certain. But as he was passionately fond of the Ancient History and Archaeology of India, he naturally chose the second alternative, come what might. A. M. T. Jackson patted him on the back, and remarked in a placid but firm tone that after all money and power were nothing as compared to the development of mind in accordance with its natural bent. The result was that D. R. Bhandarkar joined the Archaeological Department in June 1904 as Assistant Archaeological Surveyor, Bombay Circle, to the extreme surprise of the officers of that Department. At that time they all thought, sincerely enough, that Indians were incapable of carrying on research work or doing any administrative duties. The best course to follow in these circumstances in the interest of the Department, they thought, was not to make Bhandarkar permanent. So his period of appointment as Assistant Archaeological Surveyor was renewed from time to time, but he was never made permanent in that post so that he might not

stand in the way of a certain European officer being promoted to the post of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Bombay Circle. So was it whispered into his ears by the late Dr. Theodor Bloch who had a genuine admiration for Bhandarkar's work! But Bhandarkar never panted for any material prospects so long as he was left unimpeded in his work of visiting and describing the ancient monuments of India. He was then entrusted with the work of compiling the Lists of the Ancient Monuments of Rājputānā which he performed so zealously and intelligently that in their Resolution, General Department No. 6625, dated 7th November, 1907, the Bombay Government were pleased to remark in para. 9 as follows: 'Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's account of his tour in Rajputana shows that he is continuing to do most valuable work in those regions. It seems desirable that when his work in Rajputana is complete, an account of it should be published in collected form. The discoveries, regarding the origin of the sect of Lakulīśa, and bearing on the early history of certain important tribes, are of special interest. Mr. Bhandarkar deserves credit for his good work.' This clearly and succinctly sums up the work D. R. Bhandarkar did in the Archaeological Department from June 1904 to November 1907. It refers in the first instance to the information he gathered about the tribes, clans and castes with which Rājputānā is studded and which he went on gathering till 1910. And, in fact, the results of his touring in Rājputānā are so valuable that some scholars, European and Indian, have suggested the idea that they should be brought to a focus in the shape of a *Memoir* of the Archaeological Department. As the present Director-General of Archaeology is an Indian and a good scholar and administrator, let us hope that he will bring about this consummation devoutly to be wished, before it is too late. Secondly, the Bombay Government Resolution refers to the research work which Dr. Bhandarkar did within these three years and which related to Lakulīśa, who was originally a devotee of Śiva but was afterwards raised to the rank of an incarnation of that deity. His paper on Lakulīśa elicited much encomium even from Dr. Fleet, though his view was therein combated and overthrown and though he was *Zabardast* not only in administration but also in the field of scholarship. What his own theory originally was, what Dr. Bhandarkar's theory now is and why he accepts it unreservedly has been beautifully set forth by him in his own language in a paper which he has contributed to *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 420ff. 'I presume,' says he, 'that I am right in understanding Mr. Bhandarkar as meaning that, at some time not later than the first century A.D., there appeared a great Śaiva teacher, who carried a club and so became known as Lakulin, and who preached a new manifestation of

Śiva as Lakulīśa, "the lord who bears the club"; and that that teacher subsequently became identified with the god himself, and was regarded as an incarnation of the god. And such a result is so reasonable, and fits in so well with what can be learnt from other names, that we could hardly refuse to accept it.' Dr. Bhandarkar's research work in connection with Lakulīśa did not stop with the article in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 151ff. He visited the place where Lakulīśa was born, that is, Kārvān in the Baroda State, and wrote another informative paper on the subject which is important to the history of the rise of Śaivism (*A.S.I., An. Rep.*, 1906-07, pp. 179ff.). That Bhandarkar's conclusions were sound was proved by the discovery of the Mathurā Inscription of Chandragupta II, dated G.E. 61, which he edited in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1ff., and which now almost indubitably proves that Lakulī, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D. It is not possible to write any full and scientific account of Śaivism without being freely indebted to one or another of these papers. This may be seen from what has been set forth not only by R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (pp. 116 and ff.) but also by Sir John Marshall in his *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (Vol. I, p. 55 and n. 5).

Ever since Bhandarkar was Honorary Assistant Superintendent of the Ethnological Survey of Bombay and wrote his monograph on the Ahirs in 1902 he had conceived an insatiable craving for ethnological studies, especially for the various foreign clans that entered India from time to time, their migrations to the various parts of the country and their final absorption into the Hindu population. Another such tribe was the Gurjaras to which reference has already been made. A third clan which was a subject of his close study was the Guhilōts, who are supposed to be the most exalted of the Rājpūt *Khāṁps* at present going. A monograph on this clan was written by him about 1909 and handed over to his friend, the Bengali scholar, Mono Mohan Chakravarti, who published it in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, pp. 167 and ff. The paper was of such great importance that it was not strange if Dr. F. W. Thomas, who was then in charge of the Library, India Office, London, wrote to him as follows in his letter dated 11th February, 1910: 'I read the article at once and found it to be one of quite unusual interest, the conclusions being worked out in an almost dramatic manner and demonstrated with great force and clearness. Allow me to congratulate you upon your success in tracing the history of the most illustrious family among the Rajput dynasties back nearly to its origin in pre-Muhammadan times. I cannot help

thinking that other researches, starting similarly from modern times and conducted on the same principles, might considerably increase our knowledge of mediaeval India'. This last remark of Dr. Thomas was perfectly true, but the idea had ever been present to the mind of Dr. Bhandarkar. Because he became a student of the Ancient History of India as we have stated at the outset, with a study of the different volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer* which he read critically and with an absorbing interest every evening in his father's library when the latter was away for meetings or for his constitutional. The *Bombay Gazetteer* in his opinion was a model for all Governments and States in India to imitate in compiling their own Gazetteers, and the credit for bringing this series to a perfection was principally due to the late Sir James Campbell, a civilian and antiquarian, whose face he had never seen but for whom nevertheless he entertained hero-worship. He always maintained that nobody could pretend to be an antiquarian and historian of India without reading at any rate the two parts of the first volume of this *Gazetteer*. Yet how few students of history before 1915 had actually studied them or even known that they were a mine of antiquarian information. But Volume IX is perhaps the best part of this *Gazetteer*, teeming as it does with full and extensive description of the various tribes and castes that go to form the Gujarat population, and, of this volume, the two appendices: A—the Foreigner and B—the Gurjar, afford the most refreshing and thought-provoking reading. These were written by Sir James Campbell himself. And it was the critical study of these appendices that cast the mould of D. R. Bhandarkar's intellect as early as 1897. He was no doubt a good epigraphist and a good numismatist, but it was the ethnological studies that ravished his mind most. It was therefore no wonder if he wrote thoughtful and scholarly monographs on the Ahirs, Gurjaras and Guhilots which later on culminated in his classical *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 7 and ff.). This was the last of the Bhagwanlal Indraji Lectures Series which he delivered before the Bombay University in 1904. But for six years it had remained unpublished. In December 1909, the celebrated pro-Hindu scholar and administrator, A. M. T. Jackson, was shot down when he was District Collector of Nāsik. Then began the brief but the saddest period in the archaeological career of Bhandarkar. Because the two civilian scholars of that time, who were his friends and backed him up against the anti-Indian policy of the Government of India in the Archaeological Department, were Mr. A. M. T. Jackson and Mr. R. E. Enthoven. The first fell a victim to the insane passion of the political fanatics; and the second was on long leave in England. The result was that the prediction of T. Bloch made to Bhandarkar

in 1905 came out to be too true; and Mr. A. H. Longhurst was brought from the Eastern Circle and appointed Superintendent of the Western Circle and successor to Henry Cousens who retired from service in September 1910. Nevertheless, there was a silver lining in the cloud. Mr. Longhurst was such a thorough English gentleman that he and Bhandarkar soon became friends, in spite of this supersession. The long leave of Mr. Enthoven also came to an end speedily; and Mr. Longhurst was transferred to the Southern Circle, Madras, as Additional Superintendent, and Bhandarkar took over the charge of the Western Circle in August 1911. In fact, 1911 was a happy and bright New Year to him. For with the advent of this year he became editor of the *Indian Antiquary* along with Sir Richard Temple. He commenced his editorial activity with that article referred to above, namely, *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*. As remarked above, this was the subject of the last Lecture of his Bhagwanlal Indraji Series of 1904. This he revised and made ready for publication in the issue of the *Indian Antiquary* dedicated to the memory of A. M. T. Jackson which was the January Number of that Journal for 1911. That this paper produced a great sensation cannot possibly be forgotten. The generality of the people did not know D. R. Bhandarkar as a scholar at all. When this paper was published and made some noise, everybody even in Bombay thought that it emanated from the pen of R. G. Bhandarkar. Nevertheless, scholars distinguished between the father and the son. One copy of the same was sent to Dr. F. W. Thomas as other copies were to other scholars. In acknowledging it, he wrote as follows: 'The paper on the foreign elements in the population is extremely interesting and full of matter, and it shows a great command of all the literary and archaeological material. I have marked a number of points for consideration, and I shall often have to recur to the paper, which will, unless I am mistaken, excite a general interest among scholars, as did your former paper on a Kushana stone inscription.' What Dr. Thomas said was perfectly true. This paper of Dr. Bhandarkar's showed 'a great command of all the literary and archaeological matter' and excited great interest among scholars. In 1919 was published *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-Western Frontier Province*, based on the Census Reports for the Punjab of Sir Denzil Ibbetson and Sir Edward Maclagan, and compiled by H. A. Rose of the Indian Civil Service. Chapter I, Part III, thereof is devoted to 'the Elements of the Punjab People' (pp. 41 and ff.). It begins with the mention of the name of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and his paper published in 'Ind. Ant., 1911, January' and says that 'what follows is practically taken from this invaluable paper with details and illustrations added to

emphasize the applicability of Prof. Bhandarkar's thesis to these Provinces'. And, in fact, pp. 41–48 of this chapter are a lucid and masterful summary of Prof. Bhandarkar's views.

'This invaluable paper', we have mentioned more than once, was published in the January Number of the *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, and signalized the assumption by Mr. Bhandarkar of the co-editorship of the *Indian Antiquary*. This was the most renowned Journal of its type, though it had fallen on evil times when Bhandarkar became an editor. The Indians had for a long time been looked down upon as unfit not only for scientific but also scholarly work. What is amusing is that they were thought unfit even for research work in the archaeology and history of their own country. It cannot be denied that there was some element of truth in the prejudice that had been formed about the general mental calibre of an educated Indian. So it was a great advance of the Indian cause when Mr. Bhandarkar was made an editor of the illustrious *Indian Antiquary* just as it was when he was first taken as an officer at all of the Archaeological Department. He continued to be co-editor till the end of 1922. Although his field of work, strictly speaking, was restricted to India, he poached upon the grounds of that exceptionally affable English gentleman, Sir Richard Temple, by asking European scholars to contribute articles to that *Journal*. He also cleverly selected topics for discussion which he sometimes started but in which the scholars of the West freely participated. The result was that within three years the *Indian Antiquary* became a self-supporting concern and that every monthly issue of this *Journal* was eagerly awaited by scholars in India and from abroad. This state of things continued till 1922 when Mr. Bhandarkar on grounds of ill-health was forced to give up his editorship.

We have mentioned above that 1911 was a happy and bright New Year for Mr. Bhandarkar. He became co-editor of the leading antiquarian Journal of the day with the commencement of the year. In August following he became Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle. And on the 5th of December came off the visit of George V, the King-Emperor, and the royal party, to the Elephanta Cave near Bombay, while they were on their way to Delhi. Mr. Bhandarkar of course had to act as cicerone. He had already prepared a Guide to Elephanta Island for the information and guidance of the party. The King-Emperor asked him who wrote it and on learning that Mr. Bhandarkar was the author of it, he complimented him on having composed it from the view-point of a European who had no first-hand knowledge of India. The King-Emperor asked many a question regarding the

religious life of India and also regarding the matter comprised in the Guide. When this conversation was taking place, the royal party had clustered round the King-Emperor. Though his avidity had been gratified in regard to the social and religious life of India, he could not help interrogating: 'But what is the special feature of this monument?' Mr. Bhandarkar replied that it was a temple carved out of one solid living rock. He and the royal party could not believe it. Mr. Bhandarkar asked them to detect any joint in the monument which showed that it was a structural temple, and not a rock-excavation. The different members of the party dispersed in different directions in the Cave, and not the least active was the King-Emperor himself. After some time they all gathered together again. And as they could not trace any joint anywhere in the Cave, His Majesty could not help exclaiming 'wonderful', a word which was re-echoed by the rest. The incident was narrated by Dr. Bhandarkar in his address before the Rotary Club of Calcutta in 1928 which was published in the *Muslim Review*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 7 and ff.

The year 1912 also was a happy and prosperous one for Dr. Bhandarkar. For on the 15th of November he was awarded the Sir James Campbell Gold Medal by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society at a meeting presided over by Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar and with a speech made by no less a person than Mr. R. E. Enthoven. Dr. Bhandarkar was the second recipient of the medal, his predecessor being Sir Aurel Stein. Thus about 1912 Stein and Bhandarkar were looked upon as the two greatest scholars of the day in the estimation of the Bombay Asiatic Society. In his speech Mr. Enthoven also pointed out that Bhandarkar was the fittest person to receive this medal as it was instituted in the name of the late Sir James Campbell who was a great authority on the ethnology of the Bombay Presidency—a work which was being carried one step further by Mr. Bhandarkar with his monographs on Ahirs, Gurjaras, Guhilots, and, above all, the Foreign Elements of the Hindu Population. Another thing that enhanced the prestige of Mr. Bhandarkar as an Indian was that on the 18th of December he was given an assistant who was not only an Englishman but also an A.R.I.B.A. His name was Mr. J. A. Page, who, like Mr. Longhurst, proved to be such a thorough English gentleman that no hitch ever arose between them though some feared that the subordinate Englishman would lord it over the superior Indian.

It would be too irksome to give any long account of the manner in which Bhandarkar carried on his duties as Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, which position he was the first Indian to occupy. The only new and additional duty that was flung upon his

shoulders was the excavation of archaeological sites. He excavated at four different places, but the best results were achieved during his two consecutive years' excavations at Bēsnagar, the same as the ancient Vidiśā. At Bēsnagar he excavated at two different sites, one of which was round Khām Bābā Pillar, the celebrated column raised by the Greek ambassador Heliodorus in honour of the Hindu god Vāsudēva whose devout worshipper he was. On the north of Vāsudēva shrine he lighted upon what has been called solid railing which was of a unique design, not known to have been found anywhere in India when it was first unearthed. Similarly, with a view to ascertain whether the Khām Bābā Pillar was *in situ*, he sunk a pit in front of it and went on digging till he found the column resting on a stone block in its original condition and kept in the perpendicular by two pieces of iron and some stone chips driven in between. One of these iron wedges he sent to Sir Robert Hadfield of Sheffield for analysis. To his astonishment Sir Robert found that it was a piece of genuine steel, and his astonishment knew no bounds when he was told by Mr. Bhandarkar that it was a specimen of the second century B.C., because up till that time the use of steel in India in the pre-Muhammadan period was undreamt of. Sir Robert could not bring himself to believe it until Mr. (now Sir) John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, assured him that he was present when the base of the column was excavated and that the column could not have been shifted at a later date so that the bars found could have been subsequently inserted. This discovery was thought to be of such paramount importance that on Monday the 23rd November, 1914, Sir Robert delivered an address before the Faraday Society upon the hardening of metals, with a prominent mention of this piece of steel. This whole discussion has been reported upon in *The Engineer*, dated 27th November, 1914. 'I received this specimen a few months ago,' says Sir Robert Hadfield, 'from the Superintendent of Archaeology in Western India, Mr. Bhandarkar. One of the special points is that, notwithstanding the large number of specimens of ancient iron and supposed steel I have examined during the last few years, none of them have contained sufficient carbon to be termed steel in our modern time meaning. This specimen, as will be seen from the above analysis, contains as much as 0·70 per cent carbon, which indicates that it can be readily hardened by heating and quenching in water. In other words, this material has been in its present condition for probably more than two thousand years and now, after being heated and quenched, hardens exactly as if it had been made only yesterday, thus showing that in this long interval and beyond surface oxidation, this specimen has undergone no secular change of structure, or alteration in the well-known

capacity of an alloy of iron with carbon to become suddenly possessed of glass-scratching hardness after being heated and quenched in water or other cooling medium.'

But there were two more surprises to the antiquarian world from the excavations conducted by Mr. Bhandarkar at Bēsnagar. One of these was the find of lime-mortar in a structure of the Mauryan period. This structure consisted of two brick-walls exposed below the level of the solid railing referred to above which was of the time of the Khām Bābā Pillar erected by Heliodorus. The cementing material of these walls attracted the attention of Mr. Bhandarkar who sent it for analysis to Dr. H. H. Mann, who was then Principal of the Poona Agricultural College. Dr. Mann reported as follows: 'This analysis gives the idea of a well-made mortar, prepared with a full recognition of the purpose served by sand and clayey matter in making the material, as well as the lime. In this respect it appears to be far in advance of many Phoenician and Greek mortars, which contain far too much lime and far too little sand for the best results. It approaches much more in type many of the Roman mortars, but the reduction in the amount of lime has been caused further than in these mortars with the probable result of the weakening of the cement.' The second surprise, however, came from excavations on the other site, which was in the heart of Bēsnagar. Here Mr. Bhandarkar laid bare what looked like three *yajña-kuṇḍas* or sacrificial pits, apparently prepared for the performance of sacrifices by Timitra, which sounds like the Greek name Demetrius. But to place this matter beyond all doubt, he took out one or two bricks from the *kuṇḍas* and sent them also to Dr. Mann for analysis. In brief, his report is that 'the brick nearly approaches fire-clay in composition' and that 'the brick does not fuse at all easily on heating strongly in a gas blowpipe'. The full accounts by Mr. Bhandarkar of his Bēsnagar excavations have been published in the *A.S.I., An. Rep.*, 1913-14 and 1914-15, and a popular account of the same in a summarized form in the *Modern Review*, 1930, pp. 17 and ff. These excavations were perhaps not a huge success so far as the quantity of sculptures and inscriptions here laid bare was concerned. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that on no single old site such sensational discoveries were made as here, such as the unearthing of a unique type of railing, the find of a genuine piece of steel as ancient as c. 125 B.C., the discovery of the lime-mortar of the Mauryan period rivalling that of the Romans, and the picking-up of fire-bricks showing that the Indians knew what fire-brick meant and what type of clay could sustain intense heat without fusion. If we take these facts into consideration, the excavations at Bēsnagar surpassed in

point of interest and importance all other excavations in India except those at Mohenjo-daro.

En passant, we have to take note of the fact that while Mr. Bhandarkar was engaged for two consecutive years upon excavations at Bēsnagar, Mr. (now Sir) John Marshall was carrying on similar work at Sānchi round about the celebrated Buddhist Topes. They were separated only by a distance of 5 miles. They therefore met at each other's camps pretty frequently, with the result that a warm and genuine friendship sprang up between the two. That there was a ring of sincerity about this friendship may be seen from the fact that in 1918 came out *A Guide to Taxila* by Sir John Marshall who presented a copy of the same with the autograph: 'For Prof. Bhandarkar, in memory of many happy days on the banks of the Betwa, from his friend the author'. Not long thereafter blew a Nor'ester over Prof. Bhandarkar emanating presumably from two archaeological demi-gods to knock him down in the arena of the Museum after his transfer to Calcutta. It was Sir John Marshall who turned the direction of the gale and saved Prof. Bhandarkar from much worry and anxiety. Let us now turn to the story of Prof. Bhandarkar's big jump from Poona to Calcutta.

The reputation of Mr. Bhandarkar as a scholar and administrator had by now reached such a height that it was no wonder that the 'Tiger of Bengal' pounced upon him and snatched him away to his den, the Calcutta University, as Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in July 1917 in spite of the strenuous attempt made by the Archaeological Department to extricate the victim from his clutches. On the contrary, a compromise was effected which was highly in favour of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Mr. Bhandarkar not only became Carmichael Professor of the Calcutta University, but was also Officer-in-charge, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, from 1917 to 1920, so that he might be more useful to the University students. Other honours followed in quick succession. He became a Fellow of the Calcutta University and remained so till 1936. He was nominated a member of the Board of the Trustees, Indian Museum, in place of Lord Carmichael, the first Governor of Bengal, and continues to be so even now. He was Acting Secretary or Acting Treasurer, several times, of the Trustees and was their Vice-Chairman, 1925–27. In 1918 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and was their Philological Secretary from 1920 to 1925. In December 1921 the Honorary Degree of Ph.D. was conferred upon him at a Special Convocation of the Calcutta University along with a few other intellectual luminaries. Soon thereafter he became Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Department of the Government

of India; and not long thereafter, also Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission. He retired from University and Government service in 1936. About that time he was elected Honorary Member of the Calcutta Historical Society, and also as Honorary Fellow of the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta.

Dr. Bhandarkar was Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture from 1917 to 1936. There are three fields which form the province of a University Professor—teaching, the organization of his department and research. Under the terms of his appointment it was not obligatory upon him to take the M.A. classes. Nevertheless, he was so passionately fond of coming in contact with youngmen that he began to lecture to students of different departments connected with his subject, with the consequence that on the 11th May, 1929, the Senate of the Calcutta University resolved that the Carmichael Professor shall undertake regular teaching work in the post-graduate classes. As regards the organization of his department, it is an open secret that the course prescribed for M.A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture was entirely a child of Prof. Bhandarkar who strained every nerve to make it a success. How far he was able to carry out the three functions of the University Professor may be seen from what others have said about him. Even as early as 29th January, 1919, the Registrar, Calcutta University, wrote to the Government of India as follows: 'His work in the University has been eminently successful both as a capable investigator and as an inspiring teacher. The success of the newly established department of Ancient Indian History and Culture is due in a large measure to his devotion, tact and judgment . . . .' The same thing was repeated in better and more effective language by no less an authority than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee himself while conferring upon Prof. Bhandarkar the Honorary Degree of Ph.D. 'He may rightly be regarded,' said he, 'as the path-finder in trackless regions of the boundless field of Indian antiquarian research, and this has enabled him to take unquestioned rank as an inspiring teacher.' Sir Asutosh did not stop here but struck the nail right on the head when he also said: 'His bold and brilliant excursions into many an unknown tract of Ancient Indian History have furnished fresh evidence of the law of heredity, and his colleagues rejoice to find in him, not a chip of the old block, but the old block itself'. The above extracts describe Prof. Bhandarkar's activity as a University Professor in the three spheres of 'teaching', 'organization' and 'research'. In regard to 'research' it may be further remarked that beyond the numerous papers and monographs which he contributed to the various learned Journals, he instituted what may be called 'the

Carmichael Lectures Series', the object of which was to set forth a picture of Ancient India in such a manner as to make it easily intelligible and appreciable to the intelligentsia in general without losing in learning and scholarship. When the last lecture of his first series in 1918 was over, the first personage to congratulate him on its success was the late Sir Gooroodass Banerjee who took him aside and frankly confessed that he originally had very strongly opposed his appointment as Carmichael Professor but that he was now convinced that, after all, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's selection was the best as Prof. Bhandarkar spoke on such abstruse subjects as Kingship and Democratic Institutions in Ancient India in his third and fourth lectures in such a manner that what was originally vague and dark was now perspicuous and plain as *āmalaka* on the palm. He never expected that such an illustrious personage as Sir Gooroodass Banerjee could become so meek and lowly in heart; and from that time onwards Prof. Bhandarkar looked upon him as a saintly soul. Prof. Bhandarkar was not however convinced that because the subject-matter of his lectures was approved by Sir Gooroodass, it would commend itself to the European mind. The President of the First All-India Oriental Conference has rightly remarked: 'The Indian's tendency may be towards rejecting foreign influence on the occurrences in its history. On the other hand, the European scholar's tendency is to trace Greek, Roman or Christian influence at work in the evolution of new points and to modernize the Indian historical and literary events.' That was the reason why Prof. Bhandarkar sent to Dr. H. H. Mann, Principal, Agricultural College, Poona, the lime-mortar which he discovered as the cementing material in a Mauryan wall or the fire-bricks from the sacrificial pits, which he excavated at Bēsnagar. Above all, that was the reason why he sent to Sir Robert Hadfield one of the two pieces of iron found used as wedges to keep Khām Bābā Pillar in position. If any Indian had analyzed it and pronounced it to be a genuine piece of steel, no European scholar or scientist would have accepted the conclusion. This was the reason why he was anxious to know how his views about the 'Kingship' and 'Democratic Institutions' of Ancient India would be regarded by a cultured European. Fortunately he had not very long to wait for a European who was not only a capable administrator but a scholar with a judicial frame of mind. In 1924, Constable and Company Limited published 'India A Bird's-Eye View' written by Earl of Ronaldshay, who was some time ago the Governor of Bengal and who is now, as Marquess of Zetland, the Secretary of State for India. On page 135 he says: 'Amongst topics of great interest dealt with by these early thinkers is that of the origin of monarchy and the powers and functions of the king. The question is admirably

treated by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar in a series of lectures delivered at the University of Calcutta in 1918, and it is to these that I am indebted for the material upon which the brief sketch which follows is based'. And he goes on summarizing whatever Prof. Bhandarkar had said in regard to the theories of the origin of kingship such as that of the social contract, that of the king being an incarnation of the divine, that of the king being the servant of the public, and so forth, and so on. Similarly on pages 32–34, Lord Ronaldshay gives a succinct account of the oligarchic and democratic institutions of Ancient India, the existence of the parliamentary 'whip' and the kind of procedure governing the conduct of affairs by such bodies. 'There are good grounds, however, for assuming,' he adds, 'that the rules of procedure in force in the Buddhist Sangha were framed in accordance with those ordinarily in use in the case of Sanghas generally, for Buddha makes use of a number of technical terms without considering it necessary to explain them. Had he himself been the author of them, it would obviously have been necessary for him, as Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out, to give some explanation of their meaning.' He winds up the discussion by again referring to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar's 'Carmichael Lectures in 1918, in which he deals in an interesting and scholarly manner with the various systems of administration in force amongst the Aryans in India in these early days'.

Prof. Bhandarkar is on all hands acknowledged to be an expert in Epigraphy. It is, however, not known that there is hardly any section of Indian Archaeology with which he is not well conversant. This may be seen from a critical study of the Progress Reports of Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, which he wrote from year to year, where he has shown his knowledge of the art and architecture of Ancient India also. If any further proof is required, it is furnished by the Carmichael Lectures, 1921, which are lectures on Indian Numismatics. Soon after 1918 when the course of Indian History and Culture was introduced for the M.A. degree of the Calcutta University, a young man who had been appointed to teach this subject suddenly left his department. And as there was no one else in the University at that time who was sufficiently conversant with the subject, there was no recourse left but for Prof. Bhandarkar to teach it. When he began to revise his knowledge of numismatics, he found that even then in that field much new and good work was possible. These new conclusions and points of view were embodied in a course of five lectures which he delivered as 'Carmichael Lectures, 1921'. Before long the first edition of this series was exhausted, and Prof. Bhandarkar was asked by some numismatic institute of Chicago to send them a copy of that invaluable book. But no copy

was available. The institute was therefore compelled, we hear, to write to the Calcutta University to bring out a second edition of the same. Prof. Bhandarkar's third series of Carmichael Lectures were delivered on Aśoka, in 1923. But he had begun his study of Aśoka inscriptions, quite a quarter of a century prior to its publication, with a view to find out what light they threw upon the history of India. What real contribution he made here was pointed out by scholars and historians when these lectures were out. Thus so far as the historical portion of the book is concerned, one scholar has remarked: 'A careful perusal of the book enables one to visualize the pious monarch and his manifold religious and administrative activities to a much better extent than had hitherto been possible with the Asokan literature already in the field.' So far as the philological portion of the volume is concerned, another scholar says: 'In this connection it may be observed that the notes on the translations are ordinarily very full, so that even the publication of the new edition of C.I.I. will not render this part of Bhandarkar's work superfluous; and it cannot be denied that he has made real contributions in the interpretation (*e.g.* the sense of *samāja*).' Here we have to note that by 'C.I.I.' the scholar means the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, where the Inscriptions of Aśoka were revised by the late Prof. E. Hultzsch who has even in that volume freely acknowledged his indebtedness to Prof. Bhandarkar's interpretations in several places. Only one scholar had the temerity of stamping this book as 'a heavy disillusion'. But Prof. Bhandarkar has given a suitable reply to this unwarranted aspersion in the second edition of his lectures, where he has conclusively shown that the reviewer never read the book except Chapter VII thereof. Except perhaps these aspersions of one single critic who had no time or patience to wade through the whole of the book, these *Carmichael Lectures* on Aśoka were received favourably on all hands, even abroad. One has only to turn, *e.g.* to H. G. Wells' *Shape of Things to come*. Who could have imagined that this world celebrity thought it fit to read this book of Prof. Bhandarkar? Nevertheless, if anybody reads page 368 of this volume, he will notice that Prof. Bhandarkar's book and his translation of one edict of Aśoka have actually been referred to by this 'English novelist, sociologist, historian and utopian' rolled into one.

Shortly before the first edition of the Carmichael Lectures on Aśoka was published, a most devoted son of Bhāratavarsha, the biggest intellectual giant and the greatest educationist of the day, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee passed away. Prof. Bhandarkar had all along shown hero-worship to him and looked upon him as the Vikramāditya of the Modern Age, of whose court he was considered

to be one of the nine gems. Perhaps the best and most appreciative account of the late Sir Asutosh's activity in the sphere of education, without any exaggeration or emotional twaddle, is from his pen which was published in *The Progress of Education, Poona,* 1924. The *Mahā-parinirvāṇa* of this great soul was felt by him like a bolt from the blue. And he made up his mind to suspend delivering Carmichael Lectures Series for some time, but to resume it after the completion of his sixtieth year when a Research Professor is supposed to be most conversant with the subject of his life-long study. But meanwhile, he went on making a critical study of such topics as the Ancient Polity of India, the Cultural History of the pre-Mauryan Period, the Position of Women in Ancient India, the Origin and Development of Caste, and so on. The first of these subjects he had to handle, when, asked by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji and Dr. A. B. Dhruva, he delivered before the Benares Hindu University the Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures, 1925, on 'Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity'. In regard to the other subjects, he had prepared full notes with a view to resume the Carmichael Lectures Series as soon as he completed his sixtieth year. This object, however, remained unfulfilled as he retired soon thereafter. But the information and the notes he had collected have not gone in vain. For when the Syndicate of the Madras University invited him to deliver *Sir William Meyer Lectures*, 1938-39, he utilized his notes on the Cultural History of the pre-Mauryan India and delivered them under the title 'Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture'. These lectures have just been published and scholars will duly appraise the value of the new view-points from which he has tackled this subject. Special attention may, for the present, be drawn to Lecture IV where he has shown how the Vrātya cult has developed into modern Śaivism, and, above all, what light it throws upon the cult of the Indus Valley of the proto-Aryan period about which mere descriptions have been given in plenty but hardly any constructive work shown.

'Sir William Meyer Lectures' were not the only scholarly work Dr. Bhandarkar carried out after his retirement. He saw to the printing-off of 'A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India in Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts, from 200 A.C.' which he contributed to the *Epigraphia Indica* and which is published as Appendix to Vols. XIX to XXIII. It is the second edition of the work published by Kielhorn as Appendix to the same *Journal*, Vols. V to VIII. But it is nearly three times as big as that brought out by the Göttingen Professor, and it took Dr. Bhandarkar more than five years to compile it. He also wrote in the meanwhile articles and monographs connected with the various aspects of Indian Archaeology which are

too numerous to mention. Besides, it is worthy of note that in 1936, he was President, Indian Cultural Conference, Calcutta, and in 1938, President, Indian History Congress, Allahabad. The Presidential Addresses he delivered in connection therewith are looked upon as classical productions, as they are both thought-provoking and replete with information. But his *magnum opus* will be the second edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, the subject-matter of which is *Gupta Inscriptions.* A prospectus of the work he is engaged upon in connection therewith is published on pages 18-19 of *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. XII, brought out by Kern Institute, Leyden. This volume on *Gupta Inscriptions* was published by J. F. Fleet in 1888. That Fleet's translations can be improved upon in many places was long ago pointed out by G. Bühler, F. Kielhorn and R. G. Bhandarkar. Besides, many new inscriptions of this period have been discovered and much light has been thrown on the chronology of the Gupta epoch during the last half a century or more that this monumental work of Fleet has been before us. Besides, the task which is entrusted to Dr. Bhandarkar is not merely of chronological and epigraphical character as was the case with Fleet. Dr. Bhandarkar has also been asked to write historical chapters describing the political, social and religious life of Gupta India—a work which Fleet himself intended carrying out but could not owing to the onerous duties of his official life in the Revenue Department. The whole work of revising Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* has therefore been divided into two parts, the first of which is limited up to *circa* 550 A.D. It is on the first and more important part that Dr. Bhandarkar has been at present engaged. A little more than half of the work is over. Nevertheless, it will take at least five more years for him to complete it. This is nothing as compared to the length of ten years that he took for the completion of *the List of Northern Inscriptions* where for mechanical work he was helped by his assistants for some time in the Archaeological Department and thereafter for some time in the Calcutta University. After his retirement for upwards of four years there is hardly anybody now to help him for any reasonable length of time. Let us hope that the present Director-General of Archaeology, who knows what research work means and what time and mental labour it involves, will before long give his full consideration to this matter and help Dr. Bhandarkar to finish off this most important work before his health begins to fail. Nothing grieved Dr. Bhandarkar more than the extinction of the *Indian Antiquary* with which he was connected during the vigorous portion of his scholarly life. He was a thoroughly effective editor of this *Journal* from 1911 to 1922, during which period he restored it

to its pristine glory and dignity. But ill-health compelled him to resign the editorship about the end of 1922. Owing to the importunate entreaties, however, of Sir Richard Temple for whom he always entertained a high regard and affection he was induced to re-join the editorial staff which now consisted of four editors and which was later in the leading-strings of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute! Dr. Bhandarkar felt that the wings that once carried him to empyrean heights were now clipped. And what grieved him most was that the *Indian Antiquary* expired while he was an effete editor. Nevertheless, he was convinced that there should spring up a younger sister to this defunct Journal. As the year 1934 was advancing, the ever-young mind in his old frail body saw the vision of the *Indian Culture* wanting like Buddha to come to life for the dissemination of knowledge. Things were not only favourable but also propitious. And it was not long before a quadruple holy alliance was formed between himself, Prof. B. M Barua, Dr. B. C. Law and Mr. Satis Chandra Seal, and 'the Indian Culture' saw the light of the day in July 1934 as the accredited *Journal* of the Indian Research Institute. It is true that during the period of its infancy, he did the work of nursing and nurturing it quite all right. This Quarterly, however, has now attained to such a high standard of excellence that it is considered to be a rival of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. But the credit of making it such a huge success Dr. Bhandarkar no longer claims for himself. It was only in December last that some scholars and historians had been treated to a party in the building of the *Indian Research Institute*. While he was expatiating, on the occasion, on a characteristic of Bengal where, curiously enough, Lakshmīputras are also Sarasvatīputras, Dr. Bhandarkar adduced one instance of it by remarking that he was now a sleeping editor of the *Journal* and that justice required that the name of the third editor should be printed first and that of the first should come third and last.

SAKUNTALA RAO, ŚĀSTRĪ,
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'ARYAN INVASION OF INDIA'—IS IT A MYTH?

By GANGANATHA JHA

From our boyhood we have been taught that a highly-cultured race of Men,—perhaps, on that account, called 'Āryan', *Noble,*—came to India through the North-Western Passes, from some far-off land in Central Asia. This idea has stuck to our minds like a leach and refuses to leave the best of our 'educated' people. I have always felt that the idea underlying this theory has a basis other than the purely *scientific* or *historical* one;—that idea being that this land of ours, the *Bhārata-varṣa,* has in it some such inherent defect as renders it unfit for having been the cradle of the said 'noble' people.

Among the arguments put forward in support of this hypothesis, there used to be two specially stressed—viz. (1) 'Nasal Index' and (2) the 'Sapta-sindhu'.

Under (1) we were told that under a certain system of 'averages' related to the measurement of human noses, the 'Nasal Index' of the 'Aryan Race' was found to be one that is found in the people of Kashmir, the Punjab, and the further North-West, extending through Persia to Europe; and this 'index' was absent, more and more, among the people inhabiting regions further and further towards the East;—*ergo,* the people who fulfilled the conditions of the said 'nasal index' in India are not 'natives' of the land, they are descendants of the people who entered India from the North-West.

As regards this 'Nasal Index' business, about thirty years ago, when there was a lot being written about this in the papers, Homersham Cox, the great Mathematician at the Muir College, Allahabad,—who was my colleague—told me that the method that had been adopted for the drawing of 'averages' on which the 'Nasal Index' theory was based, had been proved to be entirely wrong. That is that, so far as its *scientific* character is concerned.—Now as regards the *common-sense* or *logical* view of things. Even granting that the 'Nasal Index' of the Kashmiri people is more like that of the people of Afganistan or Persia; is it not conceivable that these Kashmiris have always been where they are? What is there to show that they are only the descendants of some people who came over to Kashmir from the West or North-West? Or, was there anything in the original climate of old Kashmir which could not have allowed its indigenous inhabitants to have the 'Nasal Index' of the Nobler Race?

Next as regards the argument of the Rivers mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*,—what does it prove, at its best? It only proves that the people who sang the hymns lived in the land of the 'Five (or Seven) Rivers'; nothing beyond that. It does not, for instance, prove that the land beyond the 'Five Rivers' was *not* inhabited by an equally cultured set of people.—On the other hand, what do we learn from the *Yājurvedic* tradition? *Yājñavalkya's* feat in connection with his learning of the Veda from *Āditya* at midday—the Vedic text, on that account, being called '*Mādhyandina*', 'Pertaining, or related, to Midday';—Yājñavalkya being an inhabitant of *Mithilā*, which is very far removed from the 'Five Rivers'; his residence in *Mithilā* being proved, not only by the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, which described his philosophical conversations with King *Janaka*, but also by his own words found in his own *Smṛti*, where he is spoken of as '*Mithilāsthaḥ*', 'resident in Mithilā'.—If then, at least one of the *Vedic Seers* inhabited the Eastern land of Mithilā, and some inhabited the land of the Five Rivers,—what *definite* conclusion can that lead to?

It is not my purpose to deny the theory of the 'Aryan Migration'; my only purpose is to invite, even provoke, further investigation of the matter, with an open mind entirely freed from prejudices and pre-conceptions. Will the modern 'scientific spirit' respond?

THE TRIBHUVANAM SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF KULŌTTUṄGA III

By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, *University of Madras*

The inscription reproduced and translated below is found engraved in two copies in fine grantha characters at two places in the Kampahareśvara temple, Tribhuvanam, near the Tiruviḍaimarudūr Railway Station in the Tanjore district. The two copies are registered as Nos. 190 and 191-2 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1907. I edit the inscription from a copy of it found among the Mackenzie manuscripts and the excellent impression kindly lent to me by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. V. Venkayya's excellent commentary on the inscription will be found at paragraphs 64 and 65 of Part II of the Epigraphical Report for 1907–8. The inscription adds little to our knowledge of the political history of the reign and it bears no date. But it seems to give a fairly full account of the construction and renovation of temples that marked the reign of the last great Cōḷa emperor, Kulōttuṅga III, Tribhuvanavīradeva. The form of the inscription is that of a Kāvya of ten verses in different metres composed probably on the occasion of the consecration of the Kampahareśvara temple of Tribhuvanam, which was altogether the work of this ruler. He is described as the unequalled devotee of Śiva, and all the temples mentioned in this epigraphic poem are among the most famous Śaiva shrines of Southern India.

The first five verses are quite general; they make brief allusions to the king's campaigns and eulogize his heroism and liberality and the other noble qualities that characterized his rule. I am afraid that the very first statement in the opening verse that Kulōttuṅga took possession of Anurādhapura after killing the ruler of Ceylon must be held to be an exaggeration. At any rate, we do not have such a categorical statement in any of the other records of the reign, and they are not a few, though many of them mention the alliance between the rulers of Ceylon and the Pāṇḍya country and their common opposition to Kulōttuṅga. The last occasion on which the Cōḷa forces actually invaded Ceylon fell in the reign of Kulōttuṅga's predecessor Rājādhirāja II, and though there is no other evidence for it, it is possible that Kulōttuṅga took part in that expedition; *or* alternatively, according to a normal poetical convention, the achievement of Rājādhirāja may have been attributed to his successor.

Verse 6 doubtless relates to Chidambaram, and records the construction of a mukhamaṇḍapa before Naṭarāja's shrine, and the gōpura of the shrine of the goddess as well as the peristyle of the temple. It is a moot question how we are to understand the epithet 'golden' applied to these structures and similar constructions elsewhere. Verse 7 mentions the Ekāmreśvara of Kāñcīpuram, the Sundareśvara temple of Madura, the temple of Madhyārjuna (Tiruviḍaimarudūr), and the Rājarājeśvara among the recipients of the king's attention, and adds that the Valmīkeśvara temple was extended by the addition of a maṇḍapa and a gōpura (tower). Mr. Venkayya has suggested that by Rājarājeśvara is meant the temple of Airāvateśvara at Dārāśuram, and that the Valmīkeśvara is the temple of Tiruvārūr—both in the Tanjore district. The next verse is entirely devoted to a brief account of the construction of Kampahareśvara, the temple where the inscription is engraved. The two final verses mention the consecration of the new temple by the Śaiva priest Sōmeśvara, *alias* Īśvara Śiva and expatiate on his spiritual excellence, knowledge and literary work, and on the merit of the king who had him for his guru. The *Siddhāntaratnākara* of Īśvara Śiva (v. 10) seems to be no longer extant.

The metres are: Sragdharā (1);
Upajāti (2), (3), (4), (6);
Śārdūlavikrīḍitam (5), (7), (10);
Pariṇāhi (8); and
Vasantatilakā (9).

Text and Translation of the Inscription

स्वस्ति श्री,

आचक्रामानुराधां समरशिरसि यः संहरन्सिंहलेन्द्रान्
योजैषीत्केरलेषं विजितसुरपतिं योऽवधीद्वीरपाण्ड्यम् ।
यो वा वीराभिषेकं व्यतनुत मधुरां पाण्ड्यगुप्तां मथित्वा
राजा त्रैलोक्यवीरः स भुवि विजयते श्रीकुलोत्तुङ्गचोलः ॥ १ ॥

1. Hail, Prosperity!

The King, Śrī Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa, the foremost hero in all the three worlds, is pre-eminently victorious on earth,—the king who took possession of Anurādhā after having killed the rulers of Simhala in the van of battle, who conquered the ruler of Kerala and slew Vīrapāṇḍya, the conqueror of Indra; and who performed Vīrābhiṣeka (the anointment of heroes) after capturing Madura which was guarded by the Pāṇḍya.

विश्वम्भरा यस्य भुजार्गलायां
हृतोपसर्गं परिपालयन्त्याम् ।
प्रीत्या स्मरत्यादिवराहदंष्ट्रा-
वासासिधाराव्रतवेदनानाम् ॥ २ ॥

2. The Earth is delighted that she is freed from calamities when the bar of his (the king's) arms is protecting her, remembering, as she does, the agony—like that of one observing the vow of standing on the edge of a sword—she felt when she was borne on his tusk by Viṣṇu in his boar-incarnation.

भुजप्रतापानलधूमलेखा
संग्रामलक्ष्मीकबरीकलापः ।
त्रैलोक्यरक्षाविधिविश्वमूर्त्ते-
र्जागर्ति यस्यानुगुणः कृपाणः ॥ ३ ॥

3. The powerful sword of the king, who is the Viśvamūrti for the protection of the three worlds, keeps wide awake,—the sword which looks like a streak of smoke from the fire, viz. the prowess of his arms, and like the braid of the Goddess of War.

द्यावाभुवौ व्याप्य विजृम्भमाणा
निरङ्कुशा राजति यस्य कीर्तिः ।
रथाङ्गपाणेरनुकुर्वतीव
मूर्तेरपर्याप्तजगत्त्रयायाः ॥ ४ ॥

4. His fame shines, still growing, after having spread over the heaven and earth, in imitation, as it were, of the form of Viṣṇu (in his Vāmana incarnation) for which the space of all the three worlds was not enough.

सौन्दर्ये मदनस्तरुर्वितरणे दिव्यः क्षमायां क्षितिः
कोपे दण्डधरः पराक्रमविधौ कौ जामदग्न्यार्जुनौ ।
नीतौ शुक्रबृहस्पती सुरपतिस्त्रैलोक्यरक्षाक्रमे
संगीते भरतो मुनिर्नरपतिर्धीरैः कथं वर्ण्यते ॥ ५ ॥

5. In loveliness of form, he is the god of love; in giving gifts, the all-yielding heavenly tree; in forbearance, the earth; in anger, the god of death; and in display of valour, where are Paraśurāma and Arjuna (before him)? In statesmanship, he is both Śukra and Bṛhaspati; in the manner of guarding the three worlds, Indra; and

in music, the sage Bharata. How can this brave king (of such manifold gifts) be described?

सभापतेर्मण्डपमग्रवर्ति
गिरीन्द्रजावेश्मनि गोपुरं च ।
प्राकारहर्म्यं च विधाय हैमं
तदेकभक्तो मुमुदे नरेन्द्रः ॥ ६ ॥

6. Having built the mukhamaṇḍapa of Sabhāpati and the gōpura and the golden harmya in the Prākāra of the goddess Girīndrajā, the king, the unrivalled devotee of the god and goddess, felt gratified.

एकाम्रेश्वरदिव्यधाम मधुराहालाहलास्यालयं
श्रीमध्यार्जुनधाम धाम च तथा श्रीराजराजेश्वरम् ।
वल्मीकेश्वरवेश्म चेति निखिलं निर्माय हैमं नृपो
वल्मीकाधिपतेश्चकार च सभां दिव्यां महद्गोपुरम् ॥ ७ ॥

7. The king built the beautiful temple of Ekāmreśvara; the temple of Hālāhalāsya at Madura; the temple at Madhyārjuna; the temple of Śrī Rājarājeśvara; and the temple of Valmīkeśvara—all made of gold; and also the divine sabhā and the big gōpura of Valmīkādhipati.

जित्वा पृथ्वीं त्रिभुवनवीरश्चतुरन्तां
चक्रे स्थानं त्रिभुवनवीरेश्वरमेतत् ।
नानाहर्म्यप्रकटितशोभं बहुरथ्यं
हैमोत्तुङ्गप्रवरविमानस्थगितार्कम् ॥ ८ ॥

8. Tribhuvanavīra, having conquered the earth to its four boundaries, built this abode of Tribhuvanavīreśvara, which has many roads and is resplendent with various mansions, and whose tall and brilliant vimāna of gold hides the sun.

श्रीकण्ठशम्भुतनयेन यतिर्न्दपाणां
पाण्ड्यारिरीश्वरशिवेन महा[म्रहे*]स्मिन् ।
सोमेश्वरेण गुरुणा भुवनस्य पित्रोः
श्रेष्ठामकारयदसौ शिवयोः प्रतिष्ठाम् ॥ ९ ॥

9. The King Pāṇḍyāri (the enemy of the Pāṇḍyas) caused the consecration ceremony of Śiva and Pārvatī, the parents of the

world, to be performed in this great (temple) in the best manner possible by his guru Someśvara, *alias* Īśvara Śiva, son of Śrīkaṇṭha Śambhu.

विद्या येन मनीषिणा निकषिता विस्पष्टमष्टादश
स्थाणोर्येन विविक्तमौपनिषदं विश्वाधिकत्वं विभोः ।
येनाकारि च शैवदर्शनदृशा सिद्धान्तरत्नाकरो
राज्ञो यस्य गुरुः स ईश्वरशिवः कस्तस्य मृग्यो गुणः ॥१०॥

10. The learned Īśvara Śiva who had a thorough knowledge of (lit. had well assayed) the 18 branches of knowledge,[1] who expounded the Upaniṣadic doctrine that Sthāṇu (Śiva) is Master above all else, and who, with his knowledge of the Śaiva school of Philosophy, wrote the work, *Siddhāntaratnākara*, is the guru of the king; what need has he to seek after any other virtue?

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[1] Four Vedas, six aṅgas, Mimāṁsā, Nyāya, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gāndharva and Arthaśāstra. (Brahmāṇḍa Pur., II, ch. 35, 87–89.)

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORKS OF KHAṆḌADEVA

By P. K. GODE, *Curator, B.O.R. Institute, Poona*

Aufrecht makes the following entry in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* [1] regarding Khaṇḍadeva, the celebrated Mīmāṅsā writer:—

'खण्डदेव or श्रीधरेन्द्र son of Rudradeva, guru of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, and Śambhubhaṭṭa (who wrote in 1707) died at Benares in 1665:

Bhāṭṭadīpikā [2].
Bhāṭṭarahasya [3].
Mīmāṅsākaustubha [4].
Ākhyātārthanirūpaṇa, Burnell 84[a].
Śabdāntarapāda, Oppert 3929.
Śrutipāda, Oppert 3938, II, 7251.'

The author of the Bālaṁbhaṭṭī (between 1730 and 1820 A.D.) names Khaṇḍadeva, the author of the Bhāṭṭadīpikā.[5]

Besides the two commentaries on the *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* by Bhāskararāja [6] and Śambhubhaṭṭa, there is an exhaustive commentary

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1 Part I, p. 136.

2 Ibid., p. 404—Numerous MSS. of Bhāṭṭadīpikā are recorded by Aufrecht. The Bhāṭṭadīpikā is a Commentary on the Mīmāṅsāsūtra. Aufrecht records MSS. of Commentaries on this work as follows:—

(i) By Bhāskararāja. Mysore 5.
(ii) Bhāṭṭadīpikāprabhāvalī written in *1708* by Śambhubhaṭṭa, a pupil of Khaṇḍadeva. Hall, p. 179, L. 2532. Burnell 83[b], etc.

3 Ibid.—भाट्टरहस्य or भाट्टतन्त्ररहस्य by Khaṇḍadeva. Hall, p. 187; Bik. 550; Burnell 85[b]; Rice 124; W. 1617, etc.

4 Ibid., p. 456—मीमांसाकौस्तुभ a Commentary on the Mīmāṅsāsūtra by Khaṇḍadeva. Hall, p. 180; L. 2300; Burnell 83[b], etc.

5 Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (B.O.R. Institute, Poona, 1930), p. 457.

6 Also called Bhāskararāya Makhin. Farquhar describes him as a 'Right-hand Śākta Scholar who lived at Tanjore' (*Outlines*, pp. 192, 358, 389). He wrote a Bhāṣya on *Lalitāsahasranāma* in A.D. 1729 and another commentary on the *Vāmakeśvara Tantra* in A.D. 1733. He was a court-Pandit at Tanjore. He wrote more than 42 works on different subjects like Vedānta, Mīmāṅsā, Vyākaraṇa, Nyāya, Prosody, Kāvya, Smṛti, Mantraśāstra, Vedas, etc. His *Varivasyārahasya* is an exposition of the Śākta system (see edition of Pt. S. Subrahmanya Śāstri, Adyar, 1934). His pupil Umānandanātha composed a work called *Nityotsava* in 1775 A.D.

by Vāñcchesvarayajvan [1] who flourished between A.D. 1780 and 1850.

Aufrecht mentions that Khaṇḍadeva died at Benares in A.D. 1665 and that his pupil Śambhubhaṭṭa wrote a commentary on the *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* in A.D. 1707. These dates appear to have been based on the following remarks of Hall [2]:—

> '*Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā-Prabhāvalī* [3] . . . . . By Śambhubhaṭṭa, pupil of Khaṇḍadeva, or Śrīdharendra who died at Benares in the year 1722 of Vikramāditya. This work was completed in the Saṁvat year 1764 . . . . The *Kāla-tattva-vivecana-sāra-saṁgraha* describes itself as being by Śambhubhaṭṭa, son of Bālakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa, and pupil of Khaṇḍadeva.'

The B.O.R. Inst. MS., No. 969 of 1887–91 (*Varivasyārahasya*) is an autograph copy prepared by Umānandanātha as the following colophon states:—

"भासुरानंदनाथांघ्रिपद्मभृंगायितात्मना। उमानंदनाथेन व्यलेखि विभवे कृतिः? श्रीगुरुपादुका जयतितरां।"

Bhāskarāraya's literary career lasted from the beginning of the 18th century to about 1768 A.D. (Vide the learned Introduction to the Adyar Edition of the *Varivasyārahasya* by R. Krishnaswami Śāstri, whose 'maternal grandfather's grandfather was one of the direct disciples of Umānandanātha' (p. xxxi).)

[1] This commentary is called the *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi*. It is published by the Madras Law Journal Press, 1934. Vide my review of this edition (Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. XVII, 1936, pp. 400–405) in which I have recorded a list of works and authors mentioned by Vāñcchesvara. Appendices I to VI of the above edition reproduce the passports issued to Vāñcchesvara by M. Elphinstone and others between 26th November, *1816* and 11th February, *1828*, offering facilities for a safe journey to Rāmeśvaram where he went on a pilgrimage. Vide also *Annals*, Vol. XX, pp. 33–44, where I have proved the contact of Vāñcchesvara with the Patvardhan Sardars of the Southern Maratha country. Sakho Ananta Limaye of Aṣṭe (Satara Dist.) was the patron of this writer. The B.O.R. Institute acquired in 1938 about 450 MSS. collected by Sakho Ananta.

[2] *Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems*, Calcutta, 1859, p. 179.

[3] No. 586 of 1884–87 (MS. of this commentary in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona) begins:—

"अज्ञानतिमिरध्वंसिसत्यज्ञानप्रकाशकं ।
सर्वाभीष्टप्रदं नौमि श्रीरूपं सुंदरं महः ॥ १ ॥
यो वेद शास्त्रार्णवपारदृश्वा यज्ञादिकर्माचरणेति दक्षः ।
सदाशिवाराधनशुद्धचित्तस्तं बालकृष्णं पितरं नमामि ॥ २ ॥
श्रीखण्डदेवं प्रणिपत्य सद्गुरुं मीमांसकस्वांत-सरोजभास्करं ।
अत्यंतसंक्षिप्तपदार्थतत्कृतौ प्रभावलीटिप्पणमातनोम्यहं ॥ ३ ॥"

In the colophons Śambhubhaṭṭa is styled as "श्रीखंडदेवांतेवासि" or a pupil of Khaṇḍadeva. Śambhubhaṭṭa very often refers to an author as "प्रकाशकारैः" which may be a reference to आपदेव, the author of मीमांसान्यायप्रकाश. This point, however, needs verification.

Mr. Mahādeva Śāstri[1] states that Perubhaṭṭa, the father of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja studied the science of Mīmāṅsā under Khaṇḍadeva at Benares. This information is vouched by a few lines at the commencement of Paṇḍitarāja's celebrated work on rhetorics, viz. the *Rasagaṅgādhara*.

Farquhar[2] in his remarks about the *Karma Mīmāṅsā* states that 'Khaṇḍadeva (died 1665) produced the *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* which has won itself an honoured place because of its brilliant logical reasoning'.

A MS. of a part of the *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* described by Dr. Eggeling[3] is dated Saṁvat 1720, i.e. A.D. 1664. Evidently this copy was prepared about a year before Khaṇḍadeva's death in 1665 A.D. A MS. of another work of Khaṇḍadeva, viz. the *Mimāṅsākaustubha* is dated A.D. 1660.[4]

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[1] Vide Mysore Sanskrit Series, No. 35 (in 4 vols.)—*Pūrva-Mīmāṅsā-Darśana* with Khaṇḍadeva's *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* ed. by A. Mahadeva Śāstri (Vol. I—1908; Vol. II—1911; Vol. III—1914; Vol. IV—1916). The verses from the Rasagaṅgādhara containing a reference to Khaṇḍadeva are:—

"श्रीमज्ज्ञानेन्द्रभिक्षोरधिगतसकलब्रह्मविद्याप्रपञ्चः
काणादीराक्षपादीरपि गहनगिरो यो महेन्द्रादवेदीत् ।
देवादेवाध्यगीष्ट स्मरहरनगरे शासनं जैमिनीयं
शेषाङ्कप्राप्तशेषामलभणितिरभूत्सर्वविद्याधरो यः ॥
पाषाणादपि पीयूषं स्यन्दते यस्य लीलया ।
तं वन्दे पेरुभट्टाख्यं लक्ष्मीकान्तं महागुरुम् ॥

Nāgeśabhaṭṭa in his commentary explains देवादेव as equal to "खण्डदेवादेव" and स्मरहरनगरे as equal to "काश्याम्".

[2] J. N. Farquhar: *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*, London, 1920, p. 285. On p. 367 Farquhar gives a chronology of the literature on the *Karma Mīmāṅsā* from Jaimini (4th or 5th century A.D.) to Anantadeva (mid. 17th century).

[3] *Cata. of Ind. Office MSS.*, London, 1894, Part IV, p. 706—See description of MS. No. 766—

"संवत् १७२० ॥ पौषे मास्यसिते पक्षे द्वादश्यां बुधवासरे ।
लालाभिधेन लिखितं मुदे भवतु धीमतां ॥ १ ॥"

See also p. 708 where the date of another part of the MS. is given as *Saṁvat* 1784 (=A.D. 1728).

[4] The Govt. MSS. Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona, contains two MSS. of the *Mīmāṅsākaustubha*, viz. 378 and 379 of 1899–1915. No. 378 contains the date of the copy, viz. "संवत् १७१६" at the end of 3rd Adhyāya, Pāda 1. This MS. contains about 489 folios. MS. No. 379 is a modern copy of some old MS. Some *Caraṇas* of the 2nd *adhyāya* contain the endorsement "सर्वविद्यानिधानकवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वतीनां मीमांसाकौस्तुभे etc." which leads me to suspect that the original MS. perhaps

Prof. Keith [1] in dealing with the literary history of the Karma-Mīmāṅsā states that Khaṇḍadeva is 'much later in date' and that he 'died at Benares in 1665 A.D.' His works, the *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* [2] and on a larger scale the *Mīmāṅsākaustubha* [3] deal fully with the sūtra; the former was commented on in 1708 by his pupil Śambhubhaṭṭa. 'Khaṇḍadeva's *Bhāṭṭarahasya* [4] deals with the mode of determining which is the leading word in a text under discussion.'

It would appear from the foregoing references made by responsible scholars to Khaṇḍadeva's works that while the importance of his works has been recognized by them no attempt has been made to study the chronology of Khaṇḍadeva's works. It is proposed to put some limits to the chronology of these works in the present paper. The only date recorded by scholars in connection with Khaṇḍadeva is the year of his death, viz. A.D. 1665. We have pointed out in the foregoing references that two contemporary copies of his works are dated A.D. 1664 and 1660 respectively. Fortunately another contemporary copy of his *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* is available in the Punjab University [5]. It consists of 650 leaves and is dated *Saṁvat 1697=A.D. 1641.*

This copy was, therefore, prepared during Khaṇḍadeva's life-time and about 24 years before his death in A.D. 1665. We have now three contemporary copies of Khaṇḍadeva's works:—

(1) A.D. **1641**—MS. of *Bhāṭṭadīpikā*—Punjab Uni. Library.
(2) A.D. **1660**—MS. of *Mīmāṅsākaustubha*—B.O.R. Institute.
(3) A.D. **1664**—MS. of *Bhāṭṭadīpikā*—India Office Library.

These copies show the celebrity attained by Khaṇḍadeva's works during his life-time. Let us now study the relative chrono-

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belonged to the celebrated कवींद्राचार्य through whose influence the pilgrim-tax was abolished by Shah Jehan. [Vide *Ind. Anti.*, Vol. XLI, 1912, p. 11—'Dakshini Pandits at Benares' by MM. Haraprasad Shastri. Vide also कवीन्द्राचार्यसूचिपत्र (G.O. Series, Baroda, 1921) and Dr. A. S. Altekar's article on 'History of Benares' in the *Journal of Benares Hindu University*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 247. कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय (a volume of addresses to Kavīndra by Benares Pandits) is edited by Dr. H. D. Sharma and Mr. M. M. Patkar in the Poona Oriental Series, No 60.]

[1] The *Karma-Mīmāṅsā* (Heritage of India Series), London, 1921, pp. 12, 13.

[2] Ed. in the *Bibliotheca Indica.*

[3] Ed. Conjeevaram, 1902 (1, 2 only).

[4] Ed. Conjeevaram, 1900.

[5] *Cata. of Sanskrit MSS.* in the Punjab Uni. Library, Vol. I, 1932. Pages 111–112—'MS. No. 22—भाट्टदीपिका of खण्डदेव 650 leaves—Age: सं 1697. 1–12 च. written by different hands at different times.'

logical order of the three works of Khaṇḍadeva, viz. (1) *Mīmāṅsā-kaustubha* (=MK); (1) *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* (=BD); and (3) *Bhāṭṭarahasya* (=BR).

The BD refers to MK in many places and mentions MK as '*Kaustubhe*' which in my opinion is equal to '*Mīmāṅsākaustubhe*'.[1] The BR also mentions MK in a similar manner.[2] It is, therefore, clear that the MK is earlier than both the BD and the BR. The BR also mentions the BD by name[3], as also the MK[4]. Hence we get a chronological series: **MK—BD—BR.** The chronology of these works may now be represented as follows:—

(1) **MK** appears to be the earliest work of Khaṇḍadeva and may have been composed earlier than about 1630 A.D.

(2) **BD** is the next work composed by Khaṇḍadeva and as the Punjab MS. of the work is dated A.D. 1641, we may state that it is earlier than about 1635 A.D.

(3) **BR** is the last work of Khaṇḍadeva so far as these three works are concerned. It is difficult to put any definite limit to its chronology. It may have been composed before or after A.D. 1641, the date of the Punjab MS. of the BD.

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1 In the B.O.R.I. MS., No. 584 of 1884–87 of the **BD** I find the following references to **MK** :—

(1) *Folio* (प्रा. २) 25—"यत्तु बकल्पं वा स्वमट्योक्तमित्यादिवचनं तत्सर्वांगोपसंहारासंभवे तु कल्पविधानार्थं इति कौस्तुभे द्रष्टव्यं।"

(2) *Folio* (भा. ६) 22—"धर्मावच्छिन्नं प्रत्येव व्रीह्यादेः कारणत्वमित्युक्तं कौस्तुभे तत्रापि, etc."

(3) *Folio* (भा. ५) 28—"धर्मं इत्युक्तं तेषामर्थाधिकरणे कौस्तुभे"

(4) *Folio* (भा. ४) 29—"कौस्तुभादौ स्थापितत्वात् कर्मांतरत्वानुपपत्तेः"

In Mahadeva Śāstri's printed edition of the *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* (Vol. I, 1908), p. 13, we find the following clear references to मीमांसा-कौस्तुभः—

"विस्तरेण चैतदस्मन्मीमांसाकौस्तुभे द्रष्टव्यम्"

(p. 47)—"अस्मत्कृतकौस्तुभे" vide also pp. 44, 68, 73, 92, 119, 128, 194 and 321; Vol. II (1911)—pp. 208, 244, etc.

2 The B.O.R.I. MS. of BR, viz. No. 133 of 1902–07 contains the following reference to *Kaustubha*:—

Folio 10b—"इत्यादि प्राचीनमतं कौस्तुभे एव व्यक्तं"

3 Ibid. *Folio* 17b—"इत्युक्तं भाट्टदीपिकायाम्"

4 Ibid. *Folio* 40—"इत्येवं कौस्तुभे"

It appears to us from the foregoing evidence that the literary career of Khaṇḍadeva must be assigned to the *first half of the 17th century* presuming that the date of the Punjab MS. of BD, viz. A.D. 1641, is accurately recorded. At any rate we have brought forth sufficient evidence in the present paper to prove the relative chronology of his three works which we have represented in the series: **MK—BD—BR** (=*Mīmāṅsākaustubha* [1]—*Bhāṭṭadīpikā* [2]—*Bhāṭṭarahasya*).[3]

Prof. Chinnaswami Śāstri in his Sanskrit introduction to the *Mīmāṅsākaustubha* [4] records some contemporary evidence regarding the date of Khaṇḍadeva but it does not help us to fix the chronology of his works. Prof. Chinnaswami states that Khaṇḍadeva was born of a Deccani family having the name '*Deva*'. In A.D. 1657 a dispute arose at Benares between the Deccani Chitpāvan Brahmins and other Brahmins. This dispute was settled by an assembly of Brahmins at *Muktimaṇḍapa* [5]. Their decision was recorded in a

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[1] Edited by Pandit A. Chinnaswami Śāstri in the *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares* (1924–33) and by Rama Misra Sastri (1892-93) in the Pandit.

[2] Ed. by Candra Kanta Tarkālaṁkāra and others, Calcutta (1899–1912) and by Ananta Krishna Śāstri and V. L. Paṇsikar, N.S. Press, Bombay, 1921 (Text and Comm. Prabhāvali of Śambhubhaṭṭa).

[3] The Govt. MSS. Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona, possesses the following MSS. of the *Bhāṭṭarahasya*:—No. 133 of 1902–07, folios 62 (1st *Pariccheda*) and No. 574 of 1884–87, folios 25 (incomplete).

[4] *Ch. Sans. Series*, Benares, 1933 (Nos. 419 and 420), pp. 2-3. Prof. Chinnaswami reproduces the following extract from the *vyavasthāpatra* of the assembly of pandits:—

"मुक्तिमण्डपांतील-निर्णय शक १५७९ सन् १६५७

श्रीविश्वेश्वरो विजयतेतराम्

श्रीः। श्रीः। अथ देवर्षिविप्राणां काश्यां श्रीमुक्तिमण्डपे।

यतिमिश्रविपश्चिद्भिस्तद्ब्राह्मण्यं विविच्यते ॥ १ ॥

तत्र तावत् पूज्यपादपरमहंसपरिव्राजकमहाराष्ट्रकर्णाटककोंकणतैलङ्गद्राविडादि-सकलज्ञातीयविद्वद्-महत्स्वनिश्चयसम्मत्या वेदशास्त्रलोकतो विमृश्य देवर्षिब्राह्मणाः वेदशास्त्रपुराणेभ्योऽधिगतपरमार्थाः क्रतुयजन-याजनादिसदाचारशीलाः पङ्क्तिपावनाश्शरीरान्वयार्हाः अत्युत्तमब्राह्मण्यशालिनः शिष्टानुष्ठितशरीरान्वयाश्चेति सिद्धान्तितम्। दृष्टं चैतत्—भट्टमीमांसकश्रीभट्टरघुनाथाख्यसूरिभिः। मणिकर्णीत्युपाख्यस्याऽनन्तभट्टस्य कन्यका। देवर्षेः प्रसमुद्दाह्य वाजपेययजिः कृता। भूयांसश्चेदृशा अन्ये तद्वंशीया वयं च ते। श्रुवाणा दोषमत्रार्थे विद्वद्भिः परिशोधिते। विश्वेशद्रोहिणो ब्रह्मघातिनश्च भवन्ति ते। इति दिक् ॥"

[5] In Śaka 1550=A.D. 1628 Advaitabhaṭṭa, son of Bhāyabhaṭṭa and grandson of Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa wrote his *Rāmalingavarṇana* or *Takrarāmāyaṇa* in the Muktimaṇḍapa at Benares:—

"काश्यां मुक्तिदमण्डपे हरितिथौ विद्वत्सभासन्निधौ"

(vide p. 180 of *Des. Cata. of Kāvya MSS.*—Vol. III of R.A.S.B., Calcutta, 1934) Advaitabhaṭṭa was a native of Mārjāratīrtha at the confluence of Gautamī and Phenā.

document signed by the pandits present. Among the signatures of these pandits we find the signature of Khaṇḍadeva himself. As this document bears the date *Saṁvat 1714* or *Śaka 1579* we get a decisive proof about the date of Khaṇḍadeva, viz. A.D. 1657.

As a result of discussion about the chronology of Khaṇḍadeva's works we have been able to note the following dates regarding Khaṇḍadeva and his works:—

(1) *A.D. 1641*—Date of *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* MS. (Punjab University).
(2) *A.D. 1657*—Signature of Khaṇḍadeva on a contemporary document drawn up at Muktimaṇḍapa in Benares.
(3) *A.D. 1660*—Date of *Mīmāṅsākaustubha* MS. (B.O.R.I.).
(4) *A.D. 1664*—Date of *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* MS. (India Office).
(5) *A.D. 1665*—Date of the death of Khaṇḍadeva recorded by Khaṇḍadeva's pupil Śambhubhaṭṭa in A.D. 1708.

AYODHYA, THE CITY OF THE GODS

By R. SHAMASASTRY

Many regard the story of the Rāmāyaṇa as historical and locate the various scenes of the Epic in the cities, hills, dales, and other parts of India. Many point with pride and reverence to some parts of southern India as Kishkindha, to some hills as Mataṅga, and to some other mountain as the Rishyamūka and produce in support of the identification old local chronicles called Sthalamāhātmya. Though Ceylon formed part of the main land of the Indian continent in early times, many regard Ceylon, now an island, as Laṅka, the capital and country of Rāvaṇa, and identify as Rāma's Setu or bridge, the partly submerged sandy tract connecting Rāmeśvara with Ceylon. In the island itself some garden is pointed out as Aśoka, the pleasure park of Rāvaṇa, where Sītā is said to have been kept as a captive.

But the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka which is a better authority than any local chronicle tells us a different tale. It locates Ayodhyā in the celestial vault and calling it as the city of the gods assigns to it eight out of the twelve divisions of the celestial circle and the remaining four parts to the Daṇḍaka forest and Laṅka, the abode of the Rākshasas. The original passage runs as follows:—

Ashṭāchakrā navadvārā devānām pūrayodhyā.
Tasyām hiraṇmayah kośah svargo loko jyotishāvṛtah.
Yo vai tām Brahmaṇo veda amṛtenāvṛtām purīm.
Tasmai brahma cha Brahmā cha āyuh kīrtim prajām daduh.
Vibhrājamānām hariṇīm yaśasā samparivṛtām.
Puran Hiraṇmayīm Brahmā viveśāparājitām.

(Tait. Ar., I, 27.)

Tvāshṭrīm māyām vaiśravaṇah ratham sahasrabandhuram.
Puruschakram sahasrāśvam āsthāyāyāhi no balim.[1]

(Tait. Ar., I, 37.)

Ayodhyā (impregnable), the city of the gods, consists of eight circles (also cycles) and nine entrances; within it there is the golden treasure-dome, the celestial world, ever-illuminated with light (north pole). Whoever knows it as the Creator's city ever surrounded

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1 See Lakshmidhara's comm. on this passage in Saundarya Lahari, verse II.

with nectar will have long life, fame, and offspring bestowed on him, by Brahma (the sun), and Brahmā (the moon). Into this city ever shining, moving, and pervaded with Yaśas (fame and lustre), the Creator has entered.

May Vaiśravaṇa (known as Kubera, Lord of the Yakshas, Rākshasas, and Gandharvas), mount his chariot of thousand parts and a thousand horses and many wheels, which is the result of Tvashṭri's magical art, and come to receive our sacrificial offerings (for averting eclipses, or attacks made by Rākshasas on gods).

This Ayodhyā city is of two kinds, microcosmic and macrocosmic. The human body is an Ayodhya city of eight circles, namely, (1) Mūlādhāra, (2) Maṇipūra, (3) Svādhishṭhāna, (4) Anāhata, (5) Viśuddhi, (6) Āgnā, (7) Sahasrāra, (8) Bindu-Trikoṇa or Śiva-śakti in the Sahasrāra. Macrocosmically it is the terrestrial sphere (corresponding to the Celestial Circle) having two divisions, one of eight circles and the second of 4 circles. The first division is called the Ayodhyā city. In this the eight circles are (1) the ever-shining North Pole, and the rest (2-8) are the seven monthly circles presided over or illuminated by the seven Ādityas with Kaśyapa as the eighth at the Pole. In the celestial sphere the seven circles are those of the Seven Bears with Dhruva or Pole-star as the eighth (A.V., 10, 8). The seven terrestrial circles also bear the seven names, (1) Bhū, (2) Bhuvah, (3) Suvah, (4) Mahah, (5) Janah, (6) Tapah and (7) Satya, and also the seven Dvīpa-names, as (1) Jambu, (2) Plaksha, (3) Kuśa, (4) Krauncha, (5) Śāka, (6) Śālmali, and (7) Pushkara. They also were called the seven oceans, seven rivers, and seven svaras of the gamut. The seven circles bear also the name of Devaloka, Saptapurushas and seven Eagles. The other four or five circles of Vaiśravaṇa bear the name of Rākshasa-loka, Night-world, and Five Mothers. Later on the eight Chakras making up Ayodhyā were reduced to seven and correspondingly the Chakras of the Vaiśravaṇa division of the globe were raised to five. The sacrificial animals assigned to the seven Chakras are the cow, sheep and other domestic animals, while those of Vaiśravaṇa circles are wild animals corresponding to the wild nature of these five Chakras.[1]

Expressed in terms of time the eight Chakras represent the cycle of 20 years made up of eight minor cycles of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years with one intercalary month each (see the Vedāṅgajyautisha on $2\frac{1}{2}$ years cycle). The seven months were regarded as being presided over by seven Ādityas and the eighth Āditya named Mārtāṇḍa (born of lifeless egg) is cast out. The seven Ādityas who are the lords of the seven intercalary months occurring in the cycle of 20 years reduced

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[1] See 'Drapsa: the Vedic Cycle of Eclipses', by the author.

to 19 years are distinct from the sun or suns presiding over the ordinary months.

The whole of the above twelve intercalary month-circles evidently forms a cycle of 33 years divided into two parts, one part of 19 years with seven intercalary months and a second part of 13 years with 5 intercalary months called Rākshasaloka as contrasted with name of Devaloka given to the division of 19 years. Thus 19+13 years+12 months make up 33 years. The intercalary year is called Adhi-samvatsara in the Tait. Aranyaka. The cycle of 20 years which is one-third of the 60 years cycle beginning with Prabhava and ending with Akshaya is also referred to there in the very beginning of the work.

Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, the friend of Indra, is an incarnation of Vishṇu, the sun-god. He lives in Ayodhya which is formed by the seven intercalary month-circles and becoming 19 years old, he leaves it at the behest of his father for the forest world of Daṇḍakā and Laṅkā. He wanders there for 14 years. Reaching Lankā on or near the equator, he destroys the Rākshasas and Rāvaṇa, their chief, and returns at the completion of 33 years to Ayodhya of the Devaloka. The same work is repeated in every cycle of 33 years. This is the original real Kalpa which the authors of the Purāṇas and the Siddhāntas magnified into 43,20,000 years. The word Zodia or Zodiac seems to be philologically akin to Ayodhyā. Accordingly the story of the Rāmāyaṇa appears to be a development of an early Zodiacal myth.

PŪRVĀCĀRYAS IN PĀṆINI

By BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

I have shown elsewhere (I.C. IV. p. 391) that whenever Pāṇini specifically mentions a Pūrvācārya for his views on particular grammatical problems the revered one is mentioned at the end of the sūtra concerned, and the result of mentioning a Pūrvācārya last in a Pāṇinian aphorism is to render its application facultative according to traditional interpretation. Tradition would have us also believe that even when Pāṇini mentions a Pūrvācārya in the middle of the sūtra as in I. 1. 16, his purpose was not different; but that this is wrong has been proved, I think, in I.H.Q. X. pp. 665–70 and I.C. IV. pp. 387–99. What concerns us here is to try to find out what was exactly in the mind of Pāṇini when he mentioned the Pūrvācāryas at the end of his sūtras.

The most natural way of interpreting the sūtras in which the Pūrvācāryas are mentioned last would be surely as tradition has interpreted them, viz. to take the rules to be optional. For why should Pāṇini at all mention those old authorities if he considered their views to be absolutely wrong without any justification in the language, and what useful purpose could be served by mentioning them if their views were absolutely identical with his own? But here the question arises, why should Pāṇini so punctiliously mention the names of the different Pūrvācāryas, if his sole purpose was merely to suggest that the sūtras concerned are optional, when shorter and less ambiguous terms like *vā* or *vibhāṣā* might have served the purpose even better? I would answer this question as follows:—When Pāṇini mentions a Pūrvācārya at the end of an aphorism he means exactly what he says, namely that the particular view of the Pūrvācārya is *not* shared by him, even though the forms concerned might not be unknown in the language; and, by contrast, it would seem that the sūtras characterized by unambiguous terms like *vā* or *vibhāṣā* represent his own views from which others differed. Now, if all this is true it will surely prove that Pāṇini is peerless not only in scholarship but also in modesty. But is there any positive proof? I confess that of the above two interdependent statements the second is merely an indirect inference from the first, but the first, I maintain, can be proved independently.

After what has been said above it no longer requires any emphasizing that it is quite possible that Pāṇini by mentioning

Pūrvācāryas at the end of his sūtras merely suggested that he himself differed from them on the problems concerned. Yet this is far from anything like positive proof. But let us consider first, what has a fair chance of being regarded as positive proof. In other words, let us try to imagine the possible circumstances under which a Pāṇinian aphorism with the mention of a Pūrvācārya at the end cannot be regarded as of optional application, but as the statement of a view not shared by Pāṇini. It is not difficult to imagine such circumstances. Suppose a rule of exception to a general sūtra is followed immediately by another rule of exception of the same field of application, and that each of the two rules of exception is declared to contain the views of a particular Pūrvācārya and is indeed regarded as optional only because a revered authority is mentioned in it! If such a case actually occurs in the Aṣṭādhyāyī it will have to be admitted, I think, that Pāṇini's purpose in mentioning the Pūrvācāryas, at least in those sūtras, could not have been merely to suggest that the sūtras concerned are not of universal application; for had it been so, the second rule of exception would be absolutely redundant, as it would teach us nothing new, an exception to an exception to a general rule of single purpose amounting to a mere repetition of the general rule.

Now, a similar, though not quite the same case actually occurs in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Let us consider the three sūtras VIII. 3. 18–20. The first of them declares that in the opinion of Śākaṭāyana the semi-vowels *y* and *v* when final in a word should be lightly pronounced before letters of the *aś*-pratyāhāra if they are preceded by *ă*, and that the same will apply to the secondary final *y* in *bhoy*, *bhagoy*, etc. (even though it is not preceded by *ă*). The sūtra VIII. 3. 19 seriously modifies the preceding, as it declares as interpreted in the Kāśikā, that in the opinion of Śākalya the final *y* and *v* if preceded by *ă* should be dropped altogether. But now comes the enigmatic sūtra VIII. 3. 20, which declares that in the opinion of Gārgya a final *y* if preceded by *o* should be dropped. Patañjali commenting on it says: *na lopaḥ Śākalyasye 'ty eva siddham*, and the Kāśikā commenting on it says still more clearly: *yo 'yam alaghuprayatnasya vikalpena lopaḥ kriyate so 'nena nivartyate.* It is clear that in the Mahābhāṣya and the Kāśikā the sūtra VIII. 3. 20 has been regarded as an exception to sūtra VIII. 3. 19. But how can that be if it is true that VIII. 3. 19 deals with final *y* and *v* preceded only by *ă*, as the Kāśikā explains it, and VIII. 3. 20 deals only with final *y* preceded by *o*? In fact neither in the sūtra, nor in the Bhāṣya, is there anything to suggest that in VIII. 3. 19 Pāṇini has in mind only the cases of final *y* and *v* preceded by *ă* and not also the cases of final *y* preceded by *o* which are dealt with in VIII. 3. 18. Only in this light can it

be understood that VIII. 3. 20 has been regarded as an exception to VIII. 3. 19 by the ancient commentators.

Now we shall proceed to take account of the whole situation. Pāṇini in VIII. 3. 18 declares that in the opinion of Śākaṭāyana the final secondary *y* in *bhagoy* etc. should be lightly pronounced. In VIII. 3. 19 he again suggests (implicitly) that in the opinion of Śākalya this final secondary *y* should be altogether dropped in *bhagoy* etc. (and also when it is preceded by *ă*). In VIII. 3. 20 Pāṇini again (explicitly) says that in the opinion of Gārgya the secondary final *y* in *bhagoy* etc. should be altogether dropped. Here then we have actually a case of the mention of a Pūrvācārya which must be interpreted literally and not merely to mean that the rules concerned are optional, for in that case we would be confronted with an unheard of redundant repetition regarding the elision of the final secondary *y* in *bhagoy* etc. But if we interpret Pāṇini strictly as he expresses himself, there need be no discrepancy or redundancy at all, for it is fully understandable that Pāṇini should separately record on a particular point the views of two of his predecessors which were same or similar to each other but differed from his own. It is highly instructive to see how Patañjali was compelled to throw to the winds all Pāṇinian conventions in interpreting Pāṇ. VIII. 3. 20 and declare that the mention of Gārgya in the rule renders it not optional but absolute! This is of course absurd. It is clear that Patañjali had to take recourse to this desperate remedy only because he wanted to save Pāṇini from the charge of a redundant statement, forgetting however that there was absolutely no redundancy at all in the sūtra of Pāṇini and that the supposed redundancy was the creation of later mechanical interpreters to whom the views of Pūrvācāryas were nothing but equally valid alternatives. And it also proves, I think, that Patañjali included also the cases of final secondary *y* preceded by *o* in Pāṇ. VIII. 3. 19 as suggested above, for otherwise the very condition would be absent which compelled Patañjali to declare Pāṇ. VIII. 3. 20, to be an absolute rule in spite of the mention of Gārgya in it.

It would thus seem that sūtra VIII. 3. 20 actually contains a view of the Pūrvācārya Gārgya which Pāṇini did not share. This in itself renders it highly probable, if not altogether certain, that in all those cases where Pāṇini mentions a Pūrvācārya at the end of his sūtra his purpose was merely to record some grammatical forms which were actually known in the language and therefore were upheld by some grammarians—the Pūrvācāryas—, but which Pāṇini himself did not accept as correct. As already explained, it is possible to prove this only where the rule of the Pūrvācārya appears as an exception to another rule of exception to a general rule. But

such a complex situation, though possible, cannot be of frequent occurrence. Indeed this situation occurs, so far as I can see, only once in Pāṇ, VIII. 3. 20, from which the present conclusions have been drawn.

It cannot be seriously urged that Pāṇini used at random the names of venerable Ācāryas merely to lend a meretricious dignity to rules of questionable value. For it is now definitely settled that all the four rules in which Pāṇini invokes the name of Śākalya have their exact counterparts in the Ṛkprātiśākhya. And even Pāṇ, VIII. 3. 18, which has come in for so much discussion in the present article, is strongly reminiscent of Ath. Prāt. II. 24, which likewise invokes the name of Śākaṭāyana. These facts would conclusively prove, if any proof was at all necessary, that the views associated with the names of Pūrvācāryas in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī were actually current in the learned tradition of his time. But it will have to be admitted also that Pāṇini specifically mentioned the Pūrvācāryas only where he himself differed from them. For if he had planned to mention the Pūrvācāryas also where he completely agreed with them he would have had to mention Śākalya, for instance, not only in four but in scores of his sūtras.

THE FAILURE OF TIPU SULTAN

By A. F. M. ABDUL ALI

Out of the horrors of war and reckless carnage, which disfigure the history of Southern India in the 18th century, emerges the vision of Tipu Sultan in tragic sublimity. A fearless warrior, an indefatigable worker, a man of cultured tastes, he possessed in an eminent degree the qualities that go to make an able ruler and a distinguished administrator. He had inherited extensive territories and a replenished treasury. He managed, however, to maintain a large army and also a navy of sorts. But he was surrounded on all sides by envious neighbours who dreaded him and his great power. He was thus continually at war and hardly got an opportunity to consolidate his own position. When he ascended the throne on the death of his father in 1782, his kingdom was actually involved in war with the English. After two years' hard fighting the war ended in his triumph in 1784. During 1786-7, he was again confronted with the combined armies of the Mahrattas and the Nizam. Three years later he was once again called upon to face the formidable confederacy of the English, the Nizam and the Peshwa which cost him half his dominions and three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees as indemnity. This hard knock broke his backbone, so to say, and enabled Wellesley to extinguish him in the course of a two months' campaign in 1799. Tipu died the glorious death of a soldier in the field of battle.

The war which was most disastrous to Tipu's power is popularly known as the Third Mysore War. It started in December, 1789, with an attack by Tipu on the Travancore Lines and lasted till February, 1792. A study of these events will enable us to ascertain the cause of his downfall.

After capturing the Travancore Lines Tipu remained in Coimbatore trying to persuade the authorities at Madras that he entertained no ill-will towards the English. But Lord Cornwallis had already directed General Medows, the Governor of Madras, to commence hostilities against him. When Tipu was at last convinced that the English viewed his overtures with suspicion he left Coimbatore for Seringapatam in order to make preparations for the coming struggle. General Medows proceeded towards Coimbatore and on his way captured several posts in that district including Dindigul and Palghat. Col. Floyed occupied Satyamangalam; but in spite of the natural barriers of mountain and water, Tipu came upon him

so suddenly that he had to evacuate the fort and retreat with heavy losses. The English forces returned to Coimbatore and Tipu after pursuing them some distance changed his tactics and marched southwards taking Daraporam, Erode and other strategic positions. An English division which was proceeding to invade Barahmahal and surprise Kistnagiri was foiled in the attempt. Tipu's excellent intelligence service had apprised him of the enemy's intention and with amazing rapidity he checkmated them. Hearing that Medows was hastening to the aid of the English he withdrew his troops with equal alacrity to the Coromandel Coast and entirely reduced the countryside and penetrated into the heart of the English territory. Fortune was less kind to him in the western districts where he lost Cannanore. Thus ended the first stage of the war completely establishing Tipu's superiority in arms. He thus proved himself to be a skilful general, a strategist and tactician of the first order. The rapidity of his movements testified to his boundless energy and confounded his enemies.

The arrival of Lord Cornwallis in December, 1790, to conduct the campaign personally marks the second stage of the war. His presence instilled fresh vigour in the ranks of the British army. The allies—the Mahrattas and the Nizam—who had been lukewarm so far stirred themselves into activity. Cornwallis was bent upon prosecuting the war to a vigorous finish. It must not be supposed that he underestimated the prowess of his adversary. However he openly declared that in this war he had everything to lose and nothing to gain and would be for ever disgraced if Tipu beat him.[1]

Cornwallis assumed command of the British forces at Vellout near Vellore and made straight for Bangalore. He did not meet with any resistance till he reached Bangalore and laid siege to it.

When the assault was made Tipu's garrison put up a stubborn fight and did not surrender till their gallant commandant, Bahadur Khan, fell fighting. Cornwallis was so greatly impressed by his gallantry that he at once took charge of his dead body, preserved it in a coffin and offered to send it to Tipu for burial with due honour. Tipu was filled with admiration for his lordship's chivalrous gesture and despatched on the same day the following letter from his camp:

'I am in receipt of your lordship's friendly letter saying that Bahadur Khan had performed every act of bravery and courage, loyalty and fidelity and had at length laid down his life in my service. Befitting your own high rank and station you had caused the body of Bahadur Khan to be preserved in a coffin. If I so wished, you would send it to my camp or else, I might depute some people from

[1] Cornwallis' Correspondence, Ed. Ross, Vol. II, page 52.

here to bury it at Bangalore. This act of yours has convinced me of the perfectly noble qualities of your leadership. Doubtless, it is incumbent on great Chiefs to pay particular attention to matters of this nature. I therefore request that since there are Muhammadans in Bangalore who are acquainted with the funeral rites that have to be performed, the body may be handed to them with directions to bury it, in one of the shrines sacred to the memory of the saints. Dated the 23rd March, 1791.'[1]

The next objective after Bangalore was Seringapatam, Tipu's capital, towards which Cornwallis now decided to advance. On the way he was joined by the Nizam's forces under Raja Tejwant. Success seemed within his grasp; but Tipu's cavalry so effectively cut off his communications and his supplies that he had to beat a hasty retreat to Bangalore.

Early in the following year (1792) Cornwallis once again set out for Seringapatam accompanied by the Nizam's forces. The lessons of the last campaign were not lost on him and this time he took every precaution to keep his communications open. The Mahratta and the Bombay armies were then operating in the west so successfully that when Cornwallis moved towards Seringapatam Tipu was like a person entrapped without the least hope of being rescued. He avoided the fatal blow by immediately seeking for peace. The victorious allies dictated their own terms. He was forced to part with half of his dominions, pay three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees as indemnity and surrender two of his sons as hostages.

It will be seen that Tipu held his own against his adversaries, the English, during the first two years of the war in spite of the fact that he had just emerged from a conflict with the Mahrattas and the Nizam. He had beaten Medows and confounded Cornwallis. It was not until the Mahrattas and the Nizam had entered the arena that the Mysore Tiger was brought to bay. The cause of his ultimate failure has therefore to be sought for in quarters other than the field of battle.

Far and away from the theatres of war, diplomatic agents at Poona and Hyderabad were briskly canvassing for support for one side or another. Every argument, every inducement was employed by them. Cornwallis was ably served in both the courts by men who eventually carried their point. On the 29th December, 1789, Tipu attacked the Travancore Lines and on the 8th February, 1790, Charles Malet, the English Resident at Poona, communicated to Cornwallis with 'patriotic delight' that the Peshwa's government

[1] I.R.D., Original Persian Letter Received, 23 March, 1791, No. 78.

had declared its readiness to side with the English against Tipu.[1] On the 6th June a treaty was executed formally between the parties by which the terms of mutual co-operation were fixed. While Malet was thus engaged at Poona, Sir John Kennaway, the Resident at Hyderabad, induced the Nizam to join this alliance of the three powers—the English, the Nizam and the Mahrattas.

The formation of this confederacy was a great triumph for Cornwallis as it meant the bringing together of mutually hostile parties into the same camp. The Mahrattas and the Nizam were jealous of each other and viewed their mutual activities with profound suspicion. But the dread of Tipu provided the meeting ground and hatred of the common foe held the alliance together. No wonder that they fell out as soon as the danger was removed.

It reflects great credit to the diplomatic skill of Malet that he succeeded in inducing the Peshwa's government first to join the alliance and then to participate actively in the war, for Nana Farnavis, who directed the affairs of the Peshwa's government, was the most difficult person for negotiation. His tactics consisted in evasion and procrastination. He would keep half a dozen ambassadors hanging around him at Poona without giving a definite reply to the point at issue. He believed that with the passage of time every question would solve itself. Nana was intrigued when the English proposed the alliance, but he would have prolonged the negotiations as was his wont, had not Tipu already taken the field. The Nizam was conspiring with the English and in case they united firmly there would be an end to his dreams of ultimately subjugating the Nizam. He therefore gave his consent to the conclusion of the treaty which was soon executed and ratified in due form. How anxious Lord Cornwallis was to form this alliance and what importance he attached to it may be gathered from the compliments he bestowed on Malet on the successful conclusion of the negotiations when he said that he was 'personally obliged' to the Resident and would recommend him for 'some distinguished mark of approbation from the Court of Directors'.[2]

Again, in his letter to Kennaway he thus expressed himself: 'Without the co-operation of the Mahrattas I could not flatter myself with a certain prospect of a speedy conclusion as well as the decided success of the war, two events which are absolutely necessary to save the government and indeed the English Company's affairs from the greatest possible distress; besides that if they had not taken part with us there would always have been reason to apprehend

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1 Poona Residency Correspondence, Volume III, page 69.
2 *Ibid.*, page 174.

that their jealousy of our getting the Nizam out of their hands might in the course of the contest have been inclined them to take part against us'.[1]

The negotiations with the Nizam presented a peculiar difficulty. He hated and feared Tipu and was only too eager for an alliance with the English. Cornwallis offered him the hand of fellowship. He would fain have grasped it but shrank back on learning that the Mahrattas were also to join the confederacy. The Nizam knew that Nana Farnavis had designed on him and suspected that he had joined the confederacy to mobilize his armies and march them up to the frontiers of Hyderabad and during his absence from his dominions, the Mahratta hordes might overrun his country. And he had good ground for entertaining such suspicion. Only three years ago when the combined armies of the Nizam and the Peshwa were fighting Tipu, Holkar had treacherously raided the Nawab's dominion in collusion with Tipu.[2] The Nizam therefore insisted that a separate article in their treaty must guarantee the integrity of his territories. This was an impossible demand as it was bound to offend Mahratta susceptibilities.

The Nizam's principal object in seeking the alliance with the English was his emancipation from the power of the Mahrattas but Cornwallis' views were confined to the reduction of Tipu's power and speedy termination of the war. It therefore required much coaxing and persuasion to make him subscribe to the treaty already formed with the Peshwa. Not until he had received definite and repeated assurances in private regarding the English assistance in case of Mahratta aggression, did he sign the treaty and join the confederacy.

While Cornwallis was thus exerting by every means to reconcile the conflicting interests of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, Tipu on his part, was casting about in every direction for help and support. He sent his emissaries to every Court and opened correspondence with each one of them. But he lacked the brilliant advocacy and persuasive eloquence which Cornwallis and his agents employed to such good purpose. And he thus failed to win a single ally.

At the outset of the war, Tipu wrote to General Medows assuring him that he did not intend to fight the English and lamented the misunderstanding that had caused the two powers to mass their troops near the Travancore Lines. To restore mutual confidence he proposed to send a deputy to explain matters. But Cornwallis

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1 Poona Residency Correspondence, Volume III, page 157.
2 *Ibid.*, pages 259, 266, 268.

had already determined to fight to the finish and so the proposals of an amicable settlement met with no response.

Tipu then concentrated on winning over the Mahrattas. He succeeded in enlisting the influential support of the Rasta family to advance his cause. His envoys entered Poona with Luximan Rao Rasta at the head of a stately procession heralded by the boom of guns announcing the capture of the Travancore Lines by Tipu. They brought with them liberal supplies of money and offer of territory.[1]

The negotiations opened in an atmosphere of hopefulness. There was great excitement at Poona. It was even feared that civil strife might break out, if Rasta was not allowed to have his own way. Malet was alarmed. The treaty between the English and the Peshwa, although discussed and approved, had not yet been executed. The enemy's envoys were publicly received. The Mahratta contingent that was to join the English detachment from Bombay according to the plan agreed upon was not yet moving. All these circumstances joined to confirm the suspicions of double-dealing on the part of Nana Farnavis.

Malet was not the man to take all this lying down. He vehemently opposed the public reception of Tipu's envoys and in every meeting with the Peshwa's ministers urged their dismissal, pointing out the incompatibility of their engagements with the English and the continued residence of these envoys at Poona. His labours bore fruit. Nana for once seemed to have made up his mind to join the confederacy and reject the overtures of Tipu. At the same time he was determined to extract from the envoys the money that they had brought with them. This was however no very difficult problem for a man of Nana's resourcefulness. A little coaxing, a little gentle pressure and they yielded up the treasure amounting to 15 lakhs of rupees.

These poor creatures were no match for Nana's cunning. They were so completely subjugated by his dominant personality that they not only failed to achieve their object but also by placing 15 lakhs of rupees in the hands of Nana provided him with funds for equipping an army against their master.

Meantime the war raged fiercely. Disappointed at Poona, Tipu concentrated on detaching the Nizam from the confederacy. He had already been intriguing at Hyderabad but now renewed his efforts with greater zeal. He applied to the Nizam, his generals and ministers in the name of Islam to unite with him 'for the greater strength and glory of the true faith'. To the Nizam he wrote

[1] Poona Residency Correspondence, Volume III, pages 133, 138, 159.

thus: 'The advantages and benefits of unity and harmony among the followers of Islam are certainly exposed to your full view and indeed they cannot remain hidden from your omniscient wisdom. Similarly, the good and evil of the circumstances of other peoples of the present times must be clear to the presence. I am sure that your blessed mind is ever engaged in adopting measures to increase the power of Islam and the splendour of the faith of Muhammad as indeed befits the world of leadership and your good name. You will please suggest the ways and means for affording protection to the honour, life and property of the people who are dependent on Muhammadan chiefs and who in fact constitute a unique trust held for God, the Real Master. It is unnecessary to write more. I have in view only the welfare of the creatures of God and the progress of the firm faith. I have despatched Mahdi Ali Khan to seek the honour of waiting on you and of informing you of the particulars of my sincerity and attachment with a view to removing your displeasure. I hope you will honour me by your letters'.[1]

But Mahdi Ali Khan was no diplomat. He simply acted as a courier and impressed nobody. His feeble efforts were easily thwarted by the circumspection of Kennaway, the English Resident at Hyderabad. Far from pressing his mission he failed even to obtain an audience with the Nizam or his minister. But Tipu was in dead earnest. After his letter to the Nizam he wrote one to his wife, Bakhshi Begam. This was rather an unusual step to take, for the ladies of the harem are not supposed to take active part in politics or interest themselves in affairs of State. Tipu was however determined to leave no stone unturned. He addressed the Begam in the following terms:

'Your Highness well knows the kindness and favour which out of consideration for the attachment manifested by my late father in the Arcot war, you were pleased to show to us and which has suffered no diminution up to the present moment. I am fully convinced that the foundation of the true religion of Islam derives strength from his Highness, the Nizam and the Muhammadan Chiefs receive support from him. It appears now that owing to the representations of interested persons the mind of His Highness which is bright as the sun is clouded with the dust of displeasure. I hope that you will be pleased to make use of your friendly interposition so that His Highness's gracious favour may be manifested towards me, the enemies of the true religion be overthrown and the troops which are supposed to have been sent to their assistance be recalled. In order to represent these points of ancient and present

1 I.R.D., Original Persian Letter Received, 11 January, 1792, No. 16.

attachment and to show my readiness to conform to His Highness's wishes, Mahdi Ali Khan, who has long since been employed in an ambassadorial capacity to the presence, is deputed to you. He will minutely represent all the circumstances. What more need I say?'[1]

The reports of these intrigues naturally alarmed Cornwallis and he made anxious enquiries about their nature and extent. Kennaway allayed the fears of his lordship by assuring him that the allies could be trusted on this occasion to remain steadfast to their treaty 'from its being in their interest to adhere to it. Besides that it would be difficult for him (Tipu) to hold out objects which they will not obtain in a more complete manner by an honourable and upright conduct. I conceive the security they derive from the treaty against the effects of his future ambition and resentment (effects of which without our support they would have serious reason to be apprehensive of) gives us a hold on them which I can hardly imagine we may not with safety trust to'.[2] Kennaway was right. In reply to his impassioned appeals Tipu was coldly referred by the Nizam and his wife to Lord Cornwallis for any negotiations he had to make.

This is not the solitary instance of Tipu's failure in diplomacy, as we have noticed above. In his time he entered into negotiations with all the Indian powers and even made overtures to Afghanistan, Turkey and France. But everywhere he failed. Diplomacy was not his line. Though he penned his letters himself and was the master of an elegant style in Persian, and though he watched with a keen eye every detail of his administration, he was essentially a man of the sword, not a diplomat.

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[1] I.R.D., Original Persian Letter Received, 13 August, 1791, No. 379.
[2] Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. III, page 464.

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH INDIA AT THE ADVENT OF BRITISH RULE

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I

The indigenous system of village autonomy survived to a much later date in the southern districts of the Presidency than in the other parts and was remarkable for its local ties and local strength. The chiefships in the villages and village-groups were largely hereditary; and the village administration continued to run along the old time-honoured grooves, as in the days of Chola and Vijayanagara rule. The Maratha system of administration which influenced it in a number of phases, cherished the old village unit, but dumped a number of its own men in the place of the ancient native district and local officers; and they came to be regarded as being of the type of zamindars; they also preserved the Hindu character of the rural administrators to a large extent.

According to the *Fifth Report*, the typical village community of South India was composed of tenant-right men and was rather aristocratic than otherwise in its constitution. A village comprised some hundreds or thousands of acres of arable and waste land, and resembled a corporation or township when politically viewed. The headman had the general superintendence of affairs, settled the minor disputes of the inhabitants, relating to property rights and usage, attended to the routine police duties, and collected the revenues of the village. The *karnam* kept the accounts of cultivation and registered everything connected with it. The *taliari* gathered information concerning crimes and other kinds of offences, escorted persons travelling from one village to another; while his understrapper, the *totie*, guarded the crops and assisted in measuring them. The boundary-man preserved the limits of the village and the cultivated fields and gave evidence respecting them in cases of dispute. Another local functionary superintended the water courses and tanks and regulated the distribution of water for purposes of agriculture. The village *purohit*, the school-master, the smith, the carpenter, the potter, the washerman, the barber and the cattle-keeper were among the other hereditary servants of the village community. Wherever the popular element continued to be dominant, the proprietary members of the village community were all equal and considered themselves masters of the village, as well as the proprietors of all the lands attached to it and controllers of the other inhabitants. They held fast to the conviction that the watchmen,

priests, artificers, etc. were their servants rather than village officers. The common affairs of the village were managed not by one headman, holding his office directly from the government, but by a committee of the landed proprietors of the locality. The local officials were either elected by the proprietary community or permitted to be hereditary in their duties and offices. The members of this type of democratic *panchayat* claimed their power and authority only as representatives of the general body of proprietors. They exercised personal influence and arbitrated effectively in all disputes that were voluntarily referred to them; but they did not claim or exercise the right to decide on the claims and disputes of other proprietors or pass decisions on suits not voluntarily referred to them. The controlling officers of the government did not ordinarily interfere directly in the village affairs, so long as the proprietors agreed among themselves. They regarded the village community as a body corporate and, as such, transacted with them all business only through their natural representatives, viz. the *panchayat*. The body of proprietors had a machinery for distributing all the burdens and imports on the inhabitants and made engagements in common with the cultivators. But they never carried on the cultivation in common. Every village was divided into a certain number of fixed portions called ploughs; and 'a plough was rather like an algebraical symbol to express a fixed share, than a literal plough'.

II

The arable land was divided into a definite number of ploughs and every cultivator's or proprietor's holding was expressed in terms of ploughs. All imposts, whether of government demand or of common expenses, were assessed at so much for each plough and each man was asked to pay accordingly. In the first instance lands were probably redistributed by way of guarding against possible inequalities of advantages and disadvantages; but the holdings came in course of time to be generally fixed for a length of time and subject only to occasionally recurring redistributions. But so much of the common right remained that 'the members might claim periodical remeasurements and readjustments of holdings and payments to rectify the inequalities and alterations of boundaries which might gradually arise'. The grazing ground of the village was always in common enjoyment; but the boundary hedges or marks between the grazing grounds of adjoining villages was jealously maintained; and disputes about them led to frequent bloody affrays. Whenever fresh and hitherto uncultivated land was brought under cultivation, it was 'either shared by all, the number of ploughs remaining the same, or if all did not desire fresh land certain members were by common consent allowed to create

fresh shares'. But when the grazing ground was no larger than sufficient to afford pasture to the village cattle, no one was permitted to break it up at all for adding to the cultivated acreage.

In a particular class of large villages there existed generally two or three great divisions called *pattees*; each *pattee* traditionally enjoyed some share in the representative panchayat of the community. Claim to the office of the *Panch* was generally deemed to lie in the possession of a large stake in the village and to some extent in personal fitness and seniority generally obtained a preference provided that other qualifications existed. The *Panchayat* acted always as representatives, and on many subjects they consulted their constituencies before resolving on decisions. Their jurisdiction over village affairs was never definitely demarcated. The accountant, the money-lender and the small trader were regarded 'rather as allies than as subjects' of the village *panchayat*; but they were allowed no voice in the control of affairs. All the other servants, carpenters, blacksmiths, priests, etc. were classed as inferiors and received traditionally fixed allowances in grain. These strong village communities permitted no encroachments on their time-honoured privileges and there was generally no middle-man between them and government. They paid their revenue generally direct to the government agent; and the latter confined himself generally to the power delegated to him and did not interfere with the community.

The word *miras*, originally signifying inheritance, was employed in the Tamil districts, particularly in Tanjore, as 'a general term to designate a variety of rights, differing in nature and degree, but all more or less connected with proprietary possession, the *māniyams*, lands free of tax, fees at various rates, received in kind from the general produce and other privileges of the *Kāniyātchikar, Kanikar, Karnam, Talaiyari*, the *Vetti*, the Carpenter, Ironsmith, Washerman, etc. is called *miras*. The right of the permanent cultivator to the hereditary usufruct of the land is also called *Miras*. So is the right to the *sarkar* share of the produce of the land, held by special grant under the various denominations of Sarvamanyam, *Ardhamányam, Srótriyam, Kandikam, Enám, Mokassah*, etc. So also, in fine, is any office, privilege or emolument descending hereditarily.'

Mirasi in land rights and the *mirasi* rights of the village officers differ considerably from district to district. In the districts of Chingleput and North and South Arcots, landed *mirasi* is marked by a distinction, nowhere else known; and the proprietary *mirasdars* hold a certain extent of land, free of all assessment and are entitled to receive fees under various denominations, from the gross produce of all taxable lands and a portion of the produce, from all lands cultivated by *payacaris* or persons not *mirasdars*. This species of

mirasi is divided into two kinds, i.e. where the whole lands of the village are held jointly and either cultivated in common or divided yearly, or at some other fixed period—or where the lands are held in severalty and subject, consequently, to no periodical redistribution. In the districts to the south of the Coleroon the whole of the lands with the exception of the official *manyams* are taxable.

General William Blackburne, Resident at Tanjore, in a memorandum which he submitted to Lord William Bentinck in 1804, on the *mirasi* right as it existed in Tanjore at that time, said,—'It possesses all the essential qualities of property and has been held sacred by every successive government. In its origin it was probably derived from the grant of the sovereign.' (Vide *The Tanjore Manual*, pp. 397–400.) The distinctive feature of the *mirasi* tenure, a feature as ancient apparently as the tenure itself which still survives is the division of the village into equal shares, each made up so as to yield an equal amount of produce, and each including a proportionate share of all the benefits of common property, such as the use of the village waste, mines, quarries, fisheries, forests and pasturage. Sales, mortgages and gifts of *mirasi* shares, with all these incidental rights are recognized and enforced by courts of law. Sales of waste land alone, to the extent, of course, of the share of the alienor, have likewise been recognized. In Tanjore, the constitution of the village government was essentially that of a body democratic in its organization. There was no patel or headman as in the Maratha country, nor anyone corresponding to the Peddakapu of the Northern Sarkars or the Reddi of the Ceded Districts. Neither the report of the Commissioners appointed in 1798, nor any of the other early records exhibit a trace of such an office having ever existed in this district. The first attempt to establish the office of the village munsiff with police and judicial functions was made in 1816 when the Regulations of the Madras Code were passed. But notwithstanding all the efforts then made, the attempt did not succeed beyond creating a nominal head for each village. The Collector experienced the greatest difficulty in inducing one of the *mirasdars* to undertake the work. It was not until 1836 that the head of the village was also made an agent for the collection of the public revenue under the title of *Pattámaniagár*, imported apparently from the practice of Coimbatore. This measure also did not prove successful; and the only success that has been obtained in service is in the matter of the officer making collections of *kists*. The object of creating a village headman that commands the respect of the *mirasdars* has not been reached.[1]

[1] The significance of the word *miras* was intensive in the Jaghir District of Chingleput and in the Tanjore Delta. It denoted a variety of rights differing in

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The office of *karnam* as part of the old village institution, was purely that of a private accountant employed to keep the private accounts of the *mirasdars*; and there exist even at the present day traces of such an office, under the designation of *Kudikarnam*, as distinguished from the *Sarkárkarnam*,—which exists in the Pattukottai taluk, where the ryots, from their comparative ignorance and the large seize of the villagers, cannot afford to dispense with assistance in this shape. The commissioners of 1799, noted the marked absence in Tanjore of any kind of efficient rural official agency to look after the interests of government. The office of *karnam*, on its present footing as that of a government servant, was created only in 1807; and in his remuneration was also included a small grain-fee which had been allowed to the *Kudikarnam*. It was only in 1852 that the *karnam's* fund, as in other cognate cases, was incorporated with the revenues of the State; and their salaries became a direct charge on the State exchequer. The *Talayari* was, likewise, a private servant of the village community. By the Police Regulation XI of 1816, he was declared to be part of the regular police establishment; but he did not do any regular police duties. Eventually in 1860 when the mofussil police was reorganized, all claims to the services of the *Talayari* as a servant of the State, were formally abandoned. The ordinary emoluments of the *Talaiari*, like those of other village servants, were derived from percentages on the gross produce of the land, called *svatantrams*. A moiety of the *Talayari's svatantram* has been resumed and appropriated for the government village establishment.

Previously the contributions of the *mirasdars* for the *kával* or police duties of the villages were not regulated according to any fixed scale while their contributions in support of temples and *puróhits* were equally undefined. They varied in different parts of the district. In some places they were in the shape of assignment

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nature and degree, but all more or less connected with proprietary possession, or usufruct, of the soil and its produce. The difference was of course well recognized between *mirasi* in land and the *mirasi* of the village officials. The *mirasi* right was an ancient and hoary one; and is contributed to make the village community in Tanjore a particularly vital form of democratic corporation. The question of the existence of village communities in Malabar was vigorously discussed by the early British administrators of that country. Sir Thomas Munro seems to have felt that the *Desam* was the name of the ancient village community, and did not attach much importance to the *Tara* which organization was changed into the *Hobali* system, or subordinate direct establishments under the Company's rule. But the *Hobali* only served to lengthen the chain of officials between the Collector and the actual peasants. It was replaced, after a period of trial, by the existing *amsom* system; and for each *amsom*, the most influential of the *Desavalis*, therein was chosen as the *adhikari*.

of the entire produce of particular fields; and in others they constituted percentages on the entire produce of the village. These were later on reduced to a uniform scale of percentages. But except in the case of the perquisites of the *karnam*, the temple and the village *puróhit*, government never took it upon themselves to control the actual disbursements, but left this task entirely to the discretion of the *mirasdars*; and the latter dealt with them very much as it suited their convenience or inclinations. Thus to the *talaiari*, the *vettiyan* and the *niranikyam*, they have, in some cases, assigned instead of grain fees, small plots of land on which of course they pay the full assessment to government. In some cases they give these such grain allowances as have been agreed to between the employers and the employed. As regards other village servants they had in some cases discontinued all payments. The village doctor and the *pattigar* have in many places disappeared altogether. The employment and dismissal of the village servants have always rested with the *mirasdars* themselves. The old allowance of the village poor was abolished at the same time as the pagoda and Brahman *svatantrams*. Of the percentage fees for the doctor, the *pattigar* (watcher of stray cattle), *niranikyam* (distributor of water), *vettiyán* (scavenger), *talaiari* (watcher), the government moiety was resumed and appropriated to the improvement of the government village establishment at the revision of 1868. The village doctor and the *pattigar* had ceased to exist and the rest had become entirely private servants of the *mirasdars* and were not available for any State service. The Government's normal village establishment consisted of the village *maniagár*, the *karnam* and the *vettiyán* (village peon, who differs from the *Mirasdars' Vettiyan* and more properly styled *Vicharippukaran*) for each of the *vattams* in the district.

The duties of the village headman were defined in Regulation XI of 1816; but its interpretation in reference to his police duties was soon changed. Where village offices were hereditary, heirs succeeded in the usual course, under the terms of the prevailing law of inheritance which was modified only to the extent of precluding any partition of the office. Females and minors did in special cases succeed appointing *gumastahs* or proxies with the permission of the Collector. Disputes about the village offices were settled by the Collector of the District under Regulation VI of 1831 and an appeal lies to the Board of Revenue and to Government.

The village servants were paid in some cases by the enjoyment of government land rent-free, or on a trifling assessment called *jodi*, by contributions of grain by villagers, by the assignment of State dues on particular pieces of land and by salaries. When land questions were involved in the emoluments of office, disputes are

frequent and decided usually by suits before the Collector under Regulation of 1831. The system of payment by *inams* from Government or by *merahs* from villagers was regarded as objectionable; and the tendency came to substitute salaries in all cases wherever possible. The *inam* rules framed by Government provided for the raising of the beneficial rate of assessment on lands hitherto *inam*, while withdrawing some of the State-claims on the lands and giving an absolute ownership in them to the present occupant. By a combination of these two measures Government make a complete revision of the village establishments in the direction of substituting stipends. The revision of village establishments followed the Revenue Settlement Department and went on, *pari passu* with it. The salaries in the revised establishments were paid from a fund called the Village Service Fund. To this were credited all the new quit-rents which came in from enfranchised lands, formerly *inam* and paying little or nothing.

In revising village establishments small villages were generally clubbed together in order to reduce the establishment charges wherever necessary or possible with reference to the assets available for payment; but care was taken that the clubbing was not to be carried too far. A resident munsiff and a *talaiari* were always provided for each village; and the wishes of the villagers were, as far as possible, consulted in carrying out the clubbing of the village units. In the revision the number of servants is generally reduced, but their remuneration is as a rule improved.

The artisan non-government village offices like those of the shroff, potter, smith, carpenter, astrologer, etc. remained hereditary as far as possible; and disputed cases of hereditary succession were tried as in the other case, under Regulation VI of 1831. Owing to illegal alienation and to irregular applications of the Hindu law of property on demise, many superfluous claimants to village service emoluments quickly rose up.[1]

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[1] A practical effect of the revision of village service remunerations was seen from the two following cases : (1) A village servant is in the enjoyment of government land and pays no assessment on it or only a nominal *jodi*. Under the revision he receives a salary instead of the emolument. Government will make him proprietor of his piece of land, which will henceforth have no connection with the office, and will be an alienable piece of property belonging to the individual; and the government will henceforth tax the land with land revenue, amounting not however to the full amount, but only to $\frac{5}{8}$, in consideration of the long period during which the land was looked upon by the people as quasi-private property. (2) A village servant derives *teervaimanyam*. In this case, if enfranchisement is applied, the ryot or third person, continues to pay to the village servant in whose name the *inam* has been enfranchised, the full assessment, and the *inamdar* pays to government $\frac{5}{8}$, keeping $\frac{3}{8}$ for himself. The ryot neither loses nor gains.

In some localities a number of persons divide the emoluments in this way, one of the number only being the actual working officer. When such persons can

Madras Regulation XI of 1816 defined the powers and duties of the village headmen in criminal cases. Regulation IV of 1821 gave them power to punish village thefts. Regulation IV of 1816 gave them judicial powers as village munsiffs and regulates the procedure to be observed in trying petty civil suits for sums of money or other personal property to a limited amount. Later acts were not productive of any great radical change.

The old system of accounts in Government taluk offices and villages was extremely complicated and cumbrous. In 1855, Jayaram Chetty, an experienced official, began a thorough revision, under orders of Government. The Dravidian vernaculars were introduced instead of Marathi, as the language of accounts. Till then the superior Indian revenue officers knew to read and write in Marathi. As one result of this, the village accounts originally written by the *karnams* in the local vernacular, had to be transcribed in full before they could be used in the taluk and higher offices. The use of Marathi was discontinued by order of Government from the beginning of Fusli 1265 (July, 1856). Accounts on cadjan had to be discontinued on account of its many inconveniences; and the *karnams* were required to write on paper. A manual was published for village accounts in 1855. The revision of taluk accounts followed; and a manual for these was brought out in 1858. These were enforced in all districts shortly after it. The introduction of forms with printed headings began about that time.[1]

show a long prescriptive enjoyment of their emoluments, however erroneously acquired in the first instance, they are allowed to enfranchise on $\frac{5}{8}$ assessment. The rules have been very liberally interpreted. The fees from villagers are no longer paid in these cases. Government makes good the fees to the officers on the salaries which they give them and take from the villagers one anna cess to recoup themselves.

[1] The manuals have been revised, the revision being necessitated by changes, i.e. the introduction of survey and settlement, *inam* settlements, the abolition of the *moturpha* (or profession tax), the discontinuance of the *oolugu* renting system in Tanjore and Tinnevelly and of the *amani* system in many districts, the abolition of garden-rates, the creation of local fund circles and the like. Records of the village officials are delivered over at the end of the year to the taluk where they are kept in safe custody. The accounts show the progress of cultivation and the progress made in collecting the State dues. They include a rain register and a register of births and deaths. The object of the annual accounts is to adjust the yearly demand between the State and the ryots. The quinquennial accounts maintained are purely statistical, showing the rent-roll, the population, the number of ploughs and live-stock and the number of irrigation works in repair.

THE SEARCH OF MANUSCRIPTS

By AMARANATHA JHA

Every schoolboy knows Macaulay's contempt for Oriental Literature and the emphatic expression which he gave to it. Sydney Smith once said, 'I wish I could be as certain about anything as Tom Macaulay is about everything'. Well, Macaulay was not alone in his generation in disparaging the literature of the East. There were many others, even in a later generation, who regarded both Indian scholars and Indian scholarship as being very inferior. In noting on a proposal suggesting the compilation of a catalogue of all the Sanskrit MSS. preserved in the libraries of India and Europe, Whitley Stokes, Secretary to the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, wrote thus on August 6, 1868:

> 'I know of no Native scholar possessed of the requisite learning, accuracy, and persistent energy, I know of no European scholar in India possessed of the requisite time, or who might not be more usefully employed in making original researches.'

But the most remarkable passage in Mr. Stokes' note is the following:

> 'To Europe we should send everything obtained in working out this scheme,—original MSS., copies, extracts; for in Europe alone are the true principles of criticism and philology understood and applied, and, fifty years hence, in Europe alone will any intelligent interest be felt in Sanskrit literature. There will then, it is safe to say, be as few Sanskrit scholars in India as there are now Greek scholars in Greece.'

But Mr. Stokes ended his note with the sentence:

> 'But whatever may be done, I trust that no time may be lost in doing something. The climate and the white-ants of India are fell destroyers of manuscripts. The old race of Śastris is dying out; the younger Natives are losing their interest in the study and preservation of their national literature; and it is safe to say that in another generation, unless the Government bestir itself at once, much of value that is now procurable will have disappeared for ever.'

On November 3, 1868, His Excellency in Council accorded his general approval to the scheme in regard to the discovery and preservation of the records of ancient Sanskrit literature. But His Excellency specially suggested the desirability of bearing in mind the subjects which European scholars deem most valuable, and that MSS. of the Vedas and Vedangas, and of their commentaries, law-books, grammars, vocabularies, and philosophical treatises, should be regarded as of primary importance. Mr. Ralph Griffith, Inspector of Schools, and later well known as a Sanskrit scholar, had the foresight to sound a note of warning. He said that if it was known that books are sought after only to be removed from this country, Indians could not reasonably be expected to sympathize; but that the general sympathy of the people could be engaged by giving out that the books were to be preserved here for the benefit of the Indians.

Dr. Kielhorn, then Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies at the Deccan College, suggested in 1870 seven rules for observance:

(*a*) All Catalogues should be prepared by Sanskrit scholars, Native or European; when prepared by Native scholars, they should be written (if possible) in the Devanagri character.

(*b*) The catalogues should give the following information:

1. The title of the work. 2. The name of the author. 3. The number of leaves, the average number of lines on each page, and the number of ślokas. 4. The age of the manuscripts. 5. Substance on which written, and character. 6. Where deposited, and in whose possession.

(*c*) All works catalogued should be classified according to their contents in one uniform manner.

These have continued in the main to be the main lines on which Catalogues are still made.

The Inspector-General of Education in the Central Provinces made a curious statement. He said in 1876: 'There is not a single seat of ancient Sanskrit learning in these Provinces. The few manuscripts that exist were probably brought from Northern or Western India by immigrant Pandits—not, I should say, themselves very learned men, but rather adventurers, who accompanied invading Mahrattas. Even now there are only thirteen towns in the Central Provinces of more than 10,000 inhabitants. In other parts of India Sanskrit learning is dying or dead; here it never existed, and is not likely now to commence.' These remarks seem curious, because whoever has any knowledge of the C.P. students is impressed

with their proficiency in Sanskrit, which must be due in the main to home influence rather than school training.

From the Director of Public Instruction in Oudh came a similar story: 'The Sanskrit páthaśálás, which are the only existing means for perpetuating Sanskrit learning, are rapidly dying out. Sanskrit learning does not pay in these days.'

A good-natured smile may be permitted at the lugubrious prophecies indulged in by the administrators about sixty or seventy years ago. Sanskrit education has spread and the number of those reading Sanskrit to-day is perhaps larger than ever before. Nor is Sanskrit scholarship despised any more than other studies that have a cultural as distinct from a purely utilitarian value. Every lover of Sanskrit owes a debt of gratitude to Pandit Radha-Krishna of Lahore, at whose instance the Governor-General ordered the search and cataloguing of Sanskrit MSS. But it was a pity that no steps were taken towards the preservation and collection of MSS. in the modern languages. It is even now not too late. Some work has been done in a few provinces, but still much remains to be done. The works in these living languages will help us to reconstruct the history of our country much more fully and satisfactorily than has been possible heretofore, and one may confidently expect that our popular Ministries will take active interest in this very important matter. Chronicles; songs celebrating some popular ruler or warrior; descriptions of apparel and jewellery; accounts of popular pastimes; geographical divisions; social customs; details of the administrative system; growth and evolution of languages and literary forms—what vast and varied possibilities open out before us and how much light can these unknown manuscripts throw on the recent past! Nor should the records in the Public Offices be overlooked. Many valuable documents have frequently been reported to have been lost or destroyed. The climate of the country is very injurious to paper which becomes brittle in about twenty years. Exact copies of these should also be made and printed so as to defy the iniquity of oblivion.

There appears to be some appropriateness in this brief note being contributed to this volume in honour of Prof. Bhandarkar, as in 1872, Dr. G. Buhler in a letter to the Director of Public Instruction stated that a manuscript of *Malatimadhava*, bought in 1869, had been used by Professor (later Dr. Sir Ramchandra) Bhandarkar: a name already held in high esteem over sixty years ago.

BHAṬṬA JAYANTA AND YAŚOVARMAN OF KASHMIR [1]

By M. Rāmakrishṇa Kavi

Tentative theories and identifications in epigraphy, history or literary chronology propounded on doubtful grounds slowly become solid facts for want of opposition, and also become grounds for the determination of new problems. It is very difficult to attack the veracity of such time-honoured assertions without being called positively mad. Among hundreds of such instances identification of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpati is one. His existence, time, conquests and literary fame are determined solely on the annals of Kalhaṇa.[2] That Rājataraṅgiṇī is a true history is another instance of time-honoured theory converted into a fact. Its English editor denies such honour to it [3]; epigraphy has not discovered much to support it ; foreign history does not assist any material synchronization; on the other hand, the chain of facts in foreign history is synchronized by the dubious dates of Kalhaṇa's heroes. Such mutual assumption is called अन्योन्याश्रय in Indian logic. A minute examination of epigraphs which bristle with curious identifications, sometimes based on fallacious construction of sentences or wrong denotation of words both in Sanskrit and Prakrit and the trend of historic and literary criticism, warrant the republication of all epigraphs published at least twenty years ago in the light of new discoveries and suggested corrections.

Yaśovarman of Kanauj in eighth century, conquering a Gauḍa King, patronizing two great poets [4] does not exist outside Rājataraṅgiṇi. Epigraphy is silent on a person of such merits. Bhavabhūti nowhere mentions Yaśovarman. Vākpati does not name the capital of his hero, *wherefrom* he started on his military adventure and *where* he finally celebrated his triumph.[5] The commentator or the editor added *Kānyakubja* to the word *nagara* used in Gauḍavaho,

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1 *Sutra* style is adopted in this paper owing to the limitation of space.

2 Rājataraṅgiṇi (B.S.S.), p. 107.

3 Stein's Rājataraṅgiṇi. Intro.

4 कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवितः ।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ॥ (राजत॰)

5 Cf. Remarks of the editor of Gaudavaho, page xlvi (46), in introduction—last five lines.

in both the places.[1] The Jaina tradition brings down Vākpati to 900 A.D., identified with his royal namesake of the Paramāra Line.[2]

History or epigraphy is not precise in the identification of the Gauḍa King whose death offers a captive title to Vākpati's poem; which again is considered only as a prelude to a grander exertion of the poet's fancy. Thus the very existence of Yaśovarman of Kanauj remains to be supported by more tangible evidence.

Discovery of Āgamaḍambara of Jayanta,[3] a drama in four acts, creates a rival Yaśovarma in a king of Kashmir and patron of letters of about 850 A.D. He is none other than Śankaravarma, the husband of Sugandhādevi, who succeeded him on the throne.[4] Kalhaṇa devotes a vague and dark page in depicting this sovereign's conquests and political career, inasmuch as one is induced to think that pages in Kalhaṇa's transcript were misplaced and several lines referring to Lalitāditya should come in the history of Śankaravarman. Kalhaṇa appears to have been actuated by prejudices in politics and religion and his material is more vague and less reliable as we move from his own times to earlier periods in Kashmirian history. The order of succession of kings, their exploits and particularly their reigning periods require scrutiny and verification from sources outside Kashmir. But Rājataranginī possesses vast poetic wealth and is highly educative.

Now to the point. Āgamaḍambara is a sort of allegorical drama, where the characters are the representatives of various schools of philosophy, including Buddhist, Jaina, and atheist. In Act I, the Buddhist's favourite *item* Kshaṇabhangavāda is discussed with a Mīmāmsā scholar. Act II takes up Anekāntavāda with a Kshapaṇaka and ends with a miserable scene of devotees of Nīlambara or Balarāma where the drink offers celestial sport to couples of the sect. Act III takes us to the cremation ground and introduces us to Śaiva devotees (Sādhakas) and then we enter the precincts of a great Śaivācharya, who leads a discussion with an atheist and silences

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[1] *Ibid.* In stanza 695 commentator introduces the topic with Kānyakubja and not the author.

[2] *Ibid.* Intro., pp. 125–161.

[3] There are 2 copies of the work: (*a*) in B.V.R.I. Poona, (*b*) in one of the Pathan Libraries.

[4] (*a*) विबुधगुणाकर्णनकर्णालङ्कारस्य पूरितसकलसाधुजनमनोरथस्य पुण्ययशसः श्रीयशोवर्मदेवस्य ब्रह्म-लोकनिर्विशेषमेवेदं दृश्यते राष्ट्रम् ...... भगवदायतनम्। तदत्र प्रविश्य भगवन्तमशेषजनशरण्यं रणस्वामिनं प्रणिपत्य ततः सभामध्यमध्यासिष्ये। Act IV.

(*b*) राज्ञी च सुगन्धादेवी तेष्वेव सानुक्रोशा श्रूयते।

(*c*) कामाक्रमाकुलता तापसानां वा श्रीशङ्करवर्मणि धर्मेण मेदिनीं समागतां शासति। Act III.

him. Act IV extols the prāmaṇya of Pāncharātra and finally the author's teacher Sāhaṭa establishes the Nyāya as the best darśana. The drama closes with preaching toleration of all time-honoured religions expurged of all abuses brought on them by time and leniency.[1]

The characters in the drama are (1) Jayanta [2], as adviser of Śankaravarman; (2) Sankarshaṇa [3], a Mahāmīmāmsaka, and the king's officer to maintain purity of various religions in the State who goes about to see how the followers of each sect fare in their practices; (3) Viśvarūpa [4], a great scholar and a specialist in Mīmāmsā; (4) Dharmottara [5] representing Buddhism; (5) Jinarakshita, the Kshapaṇaka tenets; (6) Dharmaśiva [6], (Pāśupata) Śaiva school; (7) Vriddhāmbi, atheism; (8) Sāhaṭa[7], Nyāya Darśana; and (9) Manjīra. All these characters are real persons and may be assumed as contemporaries of Jayanta and Śaṅkaravarman who was called Yaśovarman in the drama. The king favours the Dharmaśiva school while the queen has special partiality for the pāncharātrikas.

The historicity of these characters can be seen as follows:—

(1) Jayanta was called Vrittikāra for writing a vritti in his youth on Pāṇini [8]. We have two more of his works Nyāya Dīpikā, a primer and Nyāyamanjarī, an elaborate commentary on

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1 (*a*) एतानि किल परस्परसंकीर्णानि पृथक्प्रस्थानानि यथावस्थानि तीर्थानि। तदेषामितरेतरसङ्करपरिहारे सततमवहितैर्भवितव्यमार्यैः (*b*) भवदीयं नाम मुखे दत्त्वा दुराचारतया ये विप्लावयन्ति शास्त्रं धर्मं च तेषां स्वाश्रमेष्ववकाशो न देयः। Act IV.

2 Dharmaśiva says:—

राजासौ भुवनेषु विश्रुतगुणो धर्मैकतानाश्रयो
मन्त्री शास्त्रमहाटवीविहरणश्रान्तो जयन्तोऽप्यसौ। Act III.

3 Sāhaṭa says—

कथमिहैव महर्षिनिर्विशेषः श्रीसंकर्षणः। Act IV.

4 अहो बतामी विहारोद्यानदर्शनदोहलिनोऽतिबहवः पुण्यैरत्रभवन्तो विश्वरूपप्रभृतयो महाविद्वांस उपस्थिताः। Act I.

5 एष स महापण्डितः प्रसिद्धो धर्मोत्तरनामा भिक्षुः कृताहारः ...... शाद्वलभुवमध्यास्ते। Act I.

6 Sankarshaṇa says :—

कथं प्राङ्गण एवाभिवर्तते श्रीधर्मशिवो भट्टारकः, अहो अमुष्य सर्वातिशायिनी तपोलक्ष्मीः ......
श्रेयःश्रीकण्ठकल्पो जनयति जगतां दर्शनादेव नूनम्। Act I.

7 (*a*) सर्वेषां सम्मतः प्रतीतिगुणो महानैयायिको धैर्यराशिरिति प्रथितापरनामा भट्टसाहटः। Act IV.
(*b*) एष हि साक्षादक्षपाद इवान्वीक्षकीप्रजापतिरुपस्थितो नराधिपानुरोधेन धैर्यराशिः।

8 अत्रभवतः शैशव एव व्याकरणविवरणकरणाद्वृत्तिकार इति प्रथितापरनाम्नो भट्टजयन्तस्य .... कृतिरभिनवमागमडम्बरं नाम किमपि रूपकं ....। Act I.

Gautamadarśana. Several verses are common to both this drama and Nyāyamanjarī. Amongst the latest names he mentions in Nyāyamanjarī are King Śaṅkaravarman [1], Nīlambaras, Damodaragupta [2] and Ānandavardhana [3].

(2) There are several Sankarshaṇas. Whether the Devatākāṇḍa (called Sankarsha Kāṇḍa) in Pūrvamīmāmsā was composed by Sankarshaṇa mentioned in the drama requires further research. He is described here as महर्षिर्निर्विशेषः.

(3) Viśvarūpa is spoken of in high terms in the drama and as a great mīmāmsaka. One Viśvarūpa wrote a commentary (called Bālakrīḍā) on Yajñavalkya Smriti and the two commentators on Bālakrīḍā call him Bhavabhūti and Sureśa also [4]. This identification is important and with reliable corroboration would solve several problems. Pratyaksvarūpa on Chitsukhī calls Umbeka [5] as Bhavabhūti. These points would lead to the conclusion that Umbeka, Bhavabhūti, Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara are the different names of the same person. But we have works separately in each name. Umbeka's commentary on Ślokavārtika begins with:—

ये नामकेचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्तु ते किमपि तान्प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यते मम तु कोऽपि समानधर्मा
कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥

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1 नीलाम्बरव्रतमिदं किलकल्पितमासीद्विटैः कैश्चित् ॥
तदपूर्वमिति विदित्वा निवारयामासधर्मतत्त्वज्ञः ।
राजा शङ्करवर्मा न पुनर्जैनादिमतमेवम् ॥ p. 271.

2 न स्पृश्यते तु यत्किंचित्प्रमाणं कुट्टिनीमतम् p. 271.

3 यमन्यः पण्डितंमन्यः प्रपेदे कंचन ध्वनिम् ।
विधिर्निषेधावगतिर्विधिबुद्धिर्निषेधतः ॥
. . . .
अथवा नेदृशी चर्चा कविभिः सह शोभते
विद्वांसोऽपि विमुह्यन्ति वाक्यार्थगहनेऽध्वनि ॥

4 In the commentary called वचनमाला——
भवभूतिनिबन्धनोदधौ तिमिभीमप्रतिवादिके गुरोः ।
सकटाक्षनिरीक्षणप्लवः पतितं मामयमुद्धरिष्यति ॥
In विभावना on Bālakrīḍā—
भवभूतिसुरेशाख्यं विश्वरूपं प्रणम्य तम् ॥

5 उम्बेको भवभूतिः (Tattvapradīpa, p. 52).

It is found in Mālatīmādhava also as his वाग्वैदुषि. Identification of Sureśvara with Viśvarūpa has been suggested by us in a series of articles [1]. A copy of Naishkarmyasiddhi of Naḍuvilmaṭham of Trichur has the name of Viśvarūpa as its author in its colophon. In Purushārthaprabodha, the author speaks of Viśvarūpa as the author of Naishkarmyasiddhi. To add to these complications Maṇḍana is identified with Sureśvara by tradition [2] probably for the fact that Sureśvara's Sambandhavārtika follows in about 500 verses the arguments and expression of Maṇḍana's Brahmasiddhi. But repetition is no plagiarism in Sastric works. It is well known that in works of Alankāra, Nāṭya, Sangīta, Śilpa, etc., the authors repeat or paraphrase portions from authoritative works. A minute examination of Brahmasiddhi and Sambandhavārtika (the introduction to Brihadāraṇya-bhāshya-vārtika) will reveal that Sureśvara desires to recognize the attacks of Maṇḍana on Prabhākara in his Brahmasiddhi and of Brahmanandin and to supplement them. So Maṇḍana, from other reasons also given by us elsewhere, can be eliminated from the chain of Sureśvara's names.

Jayanta states in the drama that Śankaravarman is Yaśovarman and so Viśvarūpa of the drama can be suggested as his court poet Bhavabhūti.

3. Dharmottara, the Buddhist, is probably the same as the commentator on Dharmakīrti's works. The former's Viniśchayatīkā was commented upon by Ānandavardhana who according to Abhinavagupta critically examines Dharmottama's arguments on pratyaksha and anumāna.

4. Nothing is known about Jinarakshita, a Kshapaṇaka (Kshapaṇakas appear to be the earlier Digambara Jains).

5. Dharmaśiva is probably the author of Vimśati, one of the poems of Panchastavī and of other works. One Dharmaśiva is mentioned in the inscription of Malkāpura of about 1230 A.D. as representing Golakimaṭha. This person lived long after Jayanta. None of his works are available to us.

6. Vriddhāmbi of nāstikavāda in the drama is equally unknown to us. In Arthaśāstra (I, 17 ch.) Ambeyas are mentioned and they seem to hold the views of Brihaspati according to the commentators.

7. Sāhaṭa, also called Dhairyarāśi is described as the guru of Jayanta. His works are not available to us.

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1 Published in Journal of Andhra Historical Society some years ago.

2 In शङ्करविजय attributed to Vidyāraṇya.

8. Manjīra, an officer of the king, was a poet representing one of the three schools of poetic composition as detailed by Kuntaka in his Vakroktijīvita [1].

To summarize:

(I) Umbeka's identity with Bhavabhūti is based on the statements of (1) Chitsukhi's Commentator, (2) Editor of Gauḍavaho [2] and (3) the first verse in the commentary on Ślokavārtika being found in Mālatīmādhava.

(II) Bhavabhūti is identified with Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara on the basis of the statements of the commentators on Bālakrīḍā.

(III) Viśvarūpa's identification with Sureśvara and that Maṇḍana and Sureśvara are different have been dealt with by me in a series of articles in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, several years ago.[3]

Thus if Viśvarūpa of the drama is the same as Viśvarūpa, who became Sureśvara, so Bhavabhūti, then Yaśovarman of Kashmir can be taken as the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpati.

The question of dates:—

In Rājataranginī even if periods assigned to each is taken for granted as correct, dates require readjustment. A twenty-five year backward push already suggested does not synchronize with events and dates noted outside Kashmir history. Nearly eighty years may be assumed. This modification would place Śaṅkaravarman in about 800 A.D. and the following dates are tentatively proposed:—

Dharmakīrtī ..	.. 680 to 730 A.D.
Kumārila ..	.. 720 to 770 A.D.
Prabhākara ..	.. 740 to 790 A.D.
Dharmottara ..	.. 740 to 790 A.D.
Maṇḍana ..	.. 740 to 790 A.D.
Umbeka (Viśvarūpa)	.. 760 to 810 A.D.
Śālikanātha ..	.. 770 to 820 A.D.
Śaṅkara ..	.. 800 to 850 A.D.
Vāchaspati ..	.. 800 to 850 A.D.

No definite dates can be assigned to any of these writers considering the results of research and discoveries made so far, but only

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1 मायुराजमञ्जीरप्रभृतयः। Unmesha I.

2 Gauḍavaho—Introd., p. 206.

3 To add to our previous arguments for the identity of Visvarūpa and Sureśvara, there is a passage in Purushārthaprabodha attesting the fact :—

श्रीमद्भिर्विश्वरूपाचार्यैर्नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धौ विद्वद्यथेष्टचरणं परिहृतम्—Page 12.

priority of one relatively to the other can be inferred. Kumārila attacks Dharmakīrti. Prabhākara criticizes the views of Kumārila. Dharmottara comments on Dharmakīrti. Maṇḍana quotes from Kumārila and attacks Prabhākara. Umbeka comments on Kumārila and Maṇḍana [1]. His unfinished commentary on Ślokavārtika was continued by Jayamiśra, called Bhaṭṭaputra [2]. Śālika attacks Maṇḍana [3]. Viśvarūpa (Sureśvara) borrows from Maṇḍana and comments on Śaṅkara's works. Vāchaspati (dated 850 A.D.) upholds Maṇḍana against Śaṅkara. Śāntarakshita [4] attacks Umbeka and quotes from Śantadeva [5] of 800 A.D. Tibetan tradition requires scrutiny to correlate with these dates.

Besides the question of Bhavabhūti and historicity of Rājataraṅgiṇī two more instances of tentative theories in literary chronology have almost assumed the rôle of facts. Bāṇa mentions Subandhu's Vāsavadatta, which is wrongly identified with the work now available in print. The latter is later than Bhavabhūti. Existence of Subandhu, the author of Vāsavadattā-Nātyadhārā (natyapāra?) [6], who was a contemporary of King Bindusāra of about 300 B.C., was pointed out in our introduction to Avantisundarīkathā of Daṇḍin.[7]

Second instance is Bhartrihari. The author of Vākyapadīya and of the commentary on Jaimini Sūtras is earlier than Śabarasvāmin. Bhartrihari of Buddhist fame is probably a later writer.

Thus assumptions based on Subandhu, Bhartrihari and of Bhavabhūti (as in Kanauj) require thorough revision.

Āgamaḍambara is called Shaṇmata-nāṭaka and the advocacy of religious toleration made by Śaṅkaravarman probably aroused the popular or sectarian imagination to call Śaṅkara as Shaṇmatasthāpaka, though the sects established are definitely different. Jayanta nowhere attacks Śaṅkara though he must have done so to establish Gautama's superiority. This fact suggests his priority to Śaṅkara.

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1 On Ślokavārtika of Kumārila and Bhāvanāviveka of Maṇḍana (both are in print).

2 इति भट्टपुत्रजयमिश्रविरचितायां श्लोकवार्तिकव्याख्यायां Bhaṭṭaputra means one who studied Śāstras under proper *guru* and is opposed to the expression अनुपासितगुरुः.

3 In Prakaraṇapanjikā—pramāṇa pariccheda.

4 Tattvasamgraha, p. 812.

5 Tattvasamgraha, Introd., p. 21, also p. 23, footnote (1).

6 *Vide* my article on Nātyapāra in Tirumalai Śrī Venkateśvara Journal.

7 सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तो बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् (Avantisundarī of Daṇḍin).

सोऽयं सम्प्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयः चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा (Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra, Ch. II).

Our Malabar MSS. have Subandhu and not Vasubandhu in Kavyālaṅkārasūtra of Vāmana.

An inscription from Cambodge referring to Śivasoma, a pupil of Śaṅkara, assigns the latter to about 820 A.D. This was pointed out by Prof. K. Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstri. (Oriental Research, Vol. XI, Pt. III.)

Viśvarūpa's references in Bālakrīḍā to Pratāpaśīla, Ravi and Savita do not sufficiently warrant his patron's identity with Prabhākaravardhana. Pratāpaśīla is an attribute to a host of kings. The words Ravi and Savita are brought in for comparison and the practice of using synonyms for personal names is very rare.

Prof. Kuppusvāmi Śāstri states in his introduction to Brahmasiddhi that Maṇḍana is later than Śaṅkara, relying on a paper contributed by Dr. Chintamaṇi to the Journal of Oriental Research. Both seem to have erred in the assumption. Bhaṣhya if read with Brahmasiddhi will surely convince anyone that Śaṅkara criticizes Maṇḍana and not the reverse. We shall deal with this question again in the introduction to our edition of Brahmasiddhi with the commentary of Vāchaspati.

NEW LIGHT ON THE MEDIÆVAL HISTORY OF GUJARAT

By V. V. MIRASHI

It is well known that in the latter half of the sixth and the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. Gujarat was held by the Kaṭaccuris or Kalacuris. After overthrowing them in *circa* A.D. 620, Pulakeśin II of the Western Cālukya dynasty divided their kingdom among his relatives and trusted chiefs. Northern Gujarat was allowed to be occupied by the Gurjaras, who acknowledged his suzerainty, while Southern Gujarat extending from the Kīm in the north to the Damaṇgaṁgā in the south was placed in charge of a Sendraka chief. The Sendrakas ruled over this territory for three generations. They seem to have made numerous grants, for Pandit Bhagvanlal once informed Dr. Bühler that he had in his possession several sets of Sendraka plates from Southern Gujarat [1]. It is very unfortunate that they are not now forthcoming.

Only two grants [2] of the dynasty have been published so far. The earlier of these [3] was found at Bagumrā in the Balesar District of the Baroda State. It is dated in the Kalacuri year 406 (A.D. 656) and registers the grant of the village Balisa by the Sendraka prince Allaśakti [4]. This village has been identified with Wanesa in the Bardoli *tālukā* of the Surat District.

From this grant we learn that Bhānuśakti was the founder of the family. As his grandson Allaśakti was ruling in A.D. 656, Bhānuśakti has to be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. He seems therefore to have been invested by Pulakeśin II with the government of Southern Gujarat after the defeat of the Kalacuri Buddharāja. In his grant he is said to have attained victory in the clash of many battles with four-tusked elephants. His son was Ādityaśakti and the latter's son Allaśakti. In his grant

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1 *I.A.*, XVIII, p. 267. Pandit Bhagvanlal is known to have bequeathed by his will all his coins and copper-plates to the British Museum (*Ibid.*, XVII, p. 297), but no Sendraka plate can be traced there.

2 Besides these, two grants of Allaśakti have been recently discovered in Khandesh. One of these has been acquired by the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. *N.I.A.I.*, p. 747.

3 *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 265ff.

4 Dr. Bühler, who edited the grant gives the donor's name as Nikumbhallaśakti, but Nikumbha was only a *biruda*; for Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also is called Nikumbha in his Mundkheḍe plates. (See below.)

Allaśakti claims to have won *pañca-mahāśabdas* and assumes the *birudas* Pṛthivīvallabha and Nikumbha.

Though the Sendrakas were raised to power by the Western Cālukyas of Bādāmi, Allaśakti makes no mention of his liegelord in his grant. From this Dr. Fleet inferred that the Bagumrā grant belongs to the period when the Western Cālukya sovereignty was in abeyance [1]. When Dr. Fleet wrote, this inference appeared justified, because in other inscriptions of the period known till then, such as the Navsāri and the Surat plates of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya, the reigning sovereign was invariably mentioned [2]. Since then some more grants of the period [3] have come to light, in which the reigning sovereign is not specifically mentioned, but which were made after the re-establishment of the Cālukyan suzerainty even according to Dr. Fleet's view. There is therefore no reason to doubt the loyalty of the Sendrakas, though there was undoubtedly much disturbance and disorder in the Cālukyan dominions owing to Pallava invasions in the beginning of Vikramāditya's reign.

Soon after the issue of the Bagumrā plates, however, the Sendrakas seem to have been ousted from Southern Gujarat; for within fifteen years from the date of those plates, we find a subordinate branch of the Western Cālukyas established in the lower Tāpti valley. The next two dates of the Kalacuri era that come from that part of the country, viz. K. 421 (670-71) and K. 443 (A.D. 693) are furnished by the grant which the prince regent Śryāśraya Śīlāditya made in Gujarat on behalf of his father Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha. The earlier of these [4], found at Navsāri, records the gift of the village Āsaṭṭigrāma, which Dr. Bühler identified with Astgām, 7 miles south-east of Navsāri [5], while the later one, discovered at Surat,[6] registers the donation of a field in the village Osumbhala,

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[1] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 361.

[2] Dr. Fleet pointed out that no paramount sovereign is mentioned in the Kaira plates of Vijayarāja also (*I.A.*, VII, pp. 241ff.) which he referred to the same period. But the record is probably spurious.

[3] See, e.g. the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha (G. H. Khare—*Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 8ff.), the Mundkheḍe plates of Jayaśakti, dated Śaka 602 (A.D. 680) (Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍal's *Annual Report* for Śaka 1834, pp. 169ff.)

[4] *E.I.*, VIII, pp. 229ff.

[5] *I.A.*, XVII, p. 198. Fleet objected to this identification on the ground that 'in the Bombay Postal Directory the name is spelt Aṣṭgām, which suggests Aṣṭagrāma, not Āsaṭṭigrāma', (*E.I.*, VIII, p. 231). I find the name as Astgam in the Degree Map, No. 46 H. Besides, the fact that Astgam is situated not far from Kaṇhi (corresponding to the ancient Kaṇhavala mentioned in that record) and no other village of a similar name can be traced in the neighbourhood supports the identification proposed by Dr. Bühler.

[6] *Transactions* of Vienna Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, pp. 211ff.

the modern Umbhel, 7 miles south of Kamrej. These villages are situated within twenty miles of Balisa or Wanesa which was granted by the Bagumrā plates of Allaśakti. It is plain, therefore, that Śryāśraya Śīlāditya was ruling over the same territory which was previously held by the Sendrakas. The latter then moved to Khāndesh where we find Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti granting the village Seṇāṇa-Kalaśa by his Mundkheḍe plates [1], dated Śaka 602 (A.D. 680). The donated village is now represented by Karasgaon near Sendri, which lies about 8 miles south by west of Chāḷisgāon in East Khāndesh. The use of the Śaka era in dating the records suggests that the grant was made outside Gujarat where the Kalacuri era was well established and remained in use for half a century afterwards.

What was the cause of this ousting of the Sendrakas from Southern Gujarat? To answer this question we must turn to the contemporary history of Mahārāṣṭra.

After the overthrow of the Kalacuris, Pulakeśin II annexed Mahārāṣṭra to the country under his direct rule [2]. In the Aihoḷe inscription [3] he is called the lord of the three Mahārāṣṭras comprising ninety-nine thousand villages. Yuan Chwang also, who travelled in South India during his reign, mentions him as the king of Mo-ha-la-c'a (Mahārāṣṭra) [4]. Pulakeśin seems to have placed the southern districts, viz. Sātārā, Paṇḍharpur and perhaps Sholāpur under his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana; for the Sātārā plates [5] of the latter record the grant of a village on the southern bank of the Bhīmā. The districts in Northern Mahārāṣṭra together with the country near the western coast seem to have been under Pulakeśin's

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1 These plates have been edited twice in Marāṭhī, first in the Marāṭhī journal Prabhāta of Dhulia (now defunct), Vol. I, No. 12, pp. 1ff. and then in the B.I.S. Maṇḍal's *Annual Report for Śaka* 1834, pp. 169ff. The plates were issued by Jayaśakti, the son of Allaśakti of the Sendraka family, from Jayapuradvāri and record the grant of the village Seṇāna-Kalaśa in the *viṣaya* (district) of Kundalikāmala to a Brāhmaṇa residing at Kallivana. As I have shown elsewhere (B.I.S. Maṇḍal's *Quarterly*, XVII, pp. 52ff.), Jayapuradvāri, which was so called probably because it was situated at the entrance of a defile, is the modern Jeur, 6 miles north of Nāndgaon, which lies at the entrance of the valley between the Sātmālā and Vindhya ranges. Kundalikāmala is Kundalgaon 11 miles S.W. of Jeur. Seṇāna-Kalaśa, the donated village, is the modern Sendri near Karasgaon 8 miles S.W. of Chāḷisgaon. The grant therefore undoubtedly belongs to Khāndesh.

2 The Nirpan grant of Nāgavardhana mentions Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha as a younger brother of Pulakeśin apparently as a ruler of the Nāsik District, but the grant is probably spurious; for Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha was Pulakeśin's son, not brother. See also *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 358, n. 1.

3 *E.I.*, VI, pp. 1ff.

4 Watters—*On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 239.

5 *I.A.*, XIX, p. 303.

direct rule. His second capital was probably Nāsik. As Dr. Fleet has shown, this town answers to the description of Pulakeśin's capital given by the Chinese traveller.

Towards the end of his reign Pulakeśin appears to have appointed his younger son Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha to rule over Northern Mahārāṣṭra and Koṅkaṇ. The Nāsik plates of Jayasiṁha dated K. 416 (A.D. 666) [1] record the grant of the village Dhoṇḍaka in the Nāsikya viṣaya (the modern Dhoṇḍgāoṇ near Nāsik) which plainly shows that he was ruling over the adjoining territory. Only five years later we find his son Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śīlāditya granting a village in Southern Gujarat by his Navsāri plates dated K. 421 (A.D. 670-71). These plates further inform us that the prosperity of Jayasiṁha was augmented by his elder brother Vikramāditya I. The transfer [2] of Jayasiṁha to the rich province of Southern Gujarat, 'the Garden of the West', is clearly implied by this reference to the augmenting of his prosperity. The reason why Vikramāditya asked Jayasiṁha to supplant the Sendrakas in Southern Gujarat is nowhere stated, but it is possible to infer it from an important statement in the Nāsik inscription. The record tells us that with his bright-tipped arrows Jayasiṁha defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā [3]. As already stated, this country was under the rule of the Gurjara princes who called themselves *Sāmantas* and evidently owned allegiance to the Western Cālukyas of Bādāmi. It seems, therefore, that some king named Vajjaḍa invaded the country of the Gurjaras evidently from the north and as Allaśakti, the representative of the Cālukya suzerain ruling over the adjoining country of Southern Gujarat, could not arrest his victorious march, Jayasiṁha had to proceed to the north to the rescue of the Gurjara feudatory. He won a decisive victory which is placed on a par

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[1] G. H. Khare—*Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan*, I, pp. 8ff. The plates were granted on the Viṣuva or Meṣa Saṅkrānti on the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra. From the lithograph accompanying the article I read the date expressed in numerical symbols in l. 28, which has not been noticed before, as *Saṁ. 416 Cai śu 15*. The date of the grant corresponds, for the expired Kalacuri year 416, to the 20th March, A.D. 666, on which day the Meṣa Saṅkrānti occurred 7h. 10m. after mean sunrise and the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Caitra *commenced* 19h. 7m. after mean sunrise.

[2] That Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha did not continue to hold the Nāsik district also is shown by some grants recently discovered at Anjaneri near Nāsik, which show another dynasty established in the Koṅkaṇ and the Nāsik district in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.

[3] See महीनर्म्मदान्तराल(ले) धवलफलशिलीमुखजालविजितविनिवृत्तवज्जडसमस्तसैन्य(न्यः) .... मातापितृश्रीमदनिवारितपदानुध्यातो धराश्रयश्रीजयसिंहवर्म्मराजः in ll. 9–13 of the Nāsik plates.

with Pulakeśin's victory over Harṣa and mentioned as one of the most glorious achievements of the Western Cālukyas in many records of their political successors, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas [1]. In appreciation of Jayasiṁha's heroism Vikramāditya I seems to have promoted him by appointing him to rule over the rich province of Southern Gujarat.

Before the discovery of Jayasiṁha's Nāsik plates no reference to this victory over Vajjaḍa was known to occur in any record of the Western Cālukyas. Dr. Fleet, however, conjectured that this victory was identical with the one obtained by Vinayāditya over some paramount king of North India [2], which is mentioned in the records of his son and successor Vijayāditya. Thus from the Nerur grants [3] of the latter dated Śaka 622 and 627 we learn that Vinayāditya acquired the *pālidhvaja* and all the insignia of sovereignty by vanquishing the lord of the whole Uttarāpatha (North India). The Nāsik plates, however, clearly show that the two victories were not identical. For Jayasiṁha's victory was decisive; he is said to have completely exterminated the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā. On the other hand, Vinayāditya did not emerge completely triumphant in his encounter with the lord paramount of North India; for though with the help of his valiant son he won the *pāli-dhvaja*, the emblems of the rivers Gangā and Yamunā, the insignia of *ḍhakkā*, elephants, etc., he was not altogether happy, as his son Vijayāditya was taken captive by the retreating hostile forces. Secondly Jayasiṁha's success was attained some time before K. 416 (A.D. 666), the date of the Nāsik plates, while Vinayāditya's battle with the Emperor of the North was not fought till Śaka 616 (A.D. 694) at least, since it is not referred to in his Harihara plates issued in that year [4]. It is mentioned for the first time in the Nerur grant [5] of his son Vijayāditya dated Śaka 622. The war seems to have been fought towards the end of Vinayāditya's reign; for he died soon thereafter while his son was in captivity. There was anarchy in the kingdom which Vijayāditya suppressed when he effected his escape. We may therefore date it in *circa* A.D. 695. Jayasiṁha was probably living at the time [6];

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[1] Dantivarman, the founder of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power is thus described in many records of the dynasty—काञ्चीशकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षम्। कार्णाटकं बलमनन्तमजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगाय॥

[2] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 368.

[3] *I.A.*, IX, pp. 125ff. and 130ff. [4] *I.A.*, IX, pp. 125ff.

[5] See ll. 30f. of the Nerur plates.

[6] That Jayasiṁha lived for a few years after A.D. 693, the date of Śryāśraya's Surat plates, is rendered probable by the fact that the name of his son Śryāśraya is

for only two years before his son Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śīlāditya had made a grant in his name; but he was then probably too old to take the field. Vajjaḍa is not therefore likely to be identical with the lord paramount of North India defeated by Vinayāditya.

Who was then this king Vajjaḍa? The name is clearly a corrupt form of some Sanskrit name like Vajraṭa or Vajrabhaṭa. As stated above, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records name him as Vajraṭa, but they belong to a much later age. Besides no name like Vajraṭa occurs in any genealogical list of the period [1]. Even if we take the name to be Vajrabhaṭa we get no better result. Similar names [2] ending in *bhaṭa* no doubt occurred in the dynastic lists [3] of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the Maitrakas of Valabhī, but there is no name in them corresponding to Vajjaḍa. The Vasantagaḍh inscription,[4] dated V. 682, indeed, mentions one Vajrabhaṭa as a feudatory of Varmalāta, but he flourished too early for this invasion, which as we have seen, took place between K. 406 and 416 (A.D. 656 and 666); for his son Rajjila was on the throne in V. 682 (A.D. 625). The history of North India between the death of Harṣa and the rise of Yaśovarman is shrouded by the veil of oblivion. Hence the problem of the identity of Vajjaḍa is likely to remain unsolved until more records bearing upon it come to light. But the conjecture may be hazarded that the name is likely to occur in the genealogies of the Haihayas and the rulers of Malwa; for these are the only two northern powers which are said to have been subjugated by Vinayāditya in his Jejuri plates dated Śaka 609 (A.D. 687-88).[5] It is not therefore unlikely that one of them had invaded Northern Gujarat in the preceding reign of Vikramāditya I.

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omitted in the grants of his other sons Maṅgalarāja and Pulakeśin. This is generally taken to indicate that Śryāśraya predeceased his father.

[1] Two princes of this name are mentioned in Nos. 1657 and 1664 in Dr. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, but they belong to much later periods.

[2] For instance, Nāgabhaṭa I and II of the Imperial Pratīhāra dynasty.

[3] For instance, Dhruvabhaṭa, the son-in-law of Harṣa, mentioned by Yuan Chwang and Derabhaṭa mentioned in Nos. 1352 and 1353 of Dr. Bhandarkar's *List*.

[4] *E.I.*, IX, p. 191.

[5] *I.A.*, VII, p. 302.

A NOTE ON THE COMPOSITION OF SABHĀ AT UTTARAMERŪR

By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *University of Madras.*

Ever since the late Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya published the Uttaramallūr documents [1] which have considerably enlarged our knowledge of Cōḷā local administration, these have largely attracted the attention and scrutiny of scholars. A close examination of the documents relating to the composition of the sabhā has led me to the following conclusion. It has been generally taken that the members of the sabhā and its committees were all Brahmans and that the *Caturvedimangalam* can be regarded as a community of joint landlords. If we approach dispassionately to study the qualifications expected of the member of the sabhā, we find the following among others [2]:

(*a*) One who owns a quarter *veli* of tax-paying land and more.
(*b*) One who is an owner of a house built in his own site.
(*c*) He must not be above seventy or below thirty-five in age.
(*d*) One who has a profound knowledge of the Mantra-brāhmaṇa.
(*e*) One who owns one-eighth *veli* of landed property and who possesses the knowledge of one Veda and a Bhāṣya.

It is nowhere said in the inscriptions that the candidate for membership should be a Brahman and a Brahman alone. What is said is that the city was divided into thirty wards and that the people of each ward assembled to elect their representative. It cannot be claimed that the Brahmans alone constituted a ward. Surely there must have been members of other communities also in each ward. It is explicitly stated that a certain individual who desired to contest municipal elections could base his claim on two

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[1] A.R.A.S.I., 1904-5.

[2] The relevant portion of the inscription may be quoted:
(*a*) kuḍumbu muppada muppadu kuḍumbilum avvava kuḍummila re kūḍikkā nilattukku mēl iṛai nilam uḍaiyān
(*b*) tan manaiyile agamm eḍuttukkōṇḍ iruppanai
(*c*) eḷubadu pirāyattin kīḻ muppattaindu pirāyattin mēr paṭṭār
(*d*) mantrabrāhmaṇam vallānodu-viytt-ariyvānai
(*e*) araikkānilame uḍaiyān āyilum, oru vedam vallānāy nālu bhāṣyattilum oru bhāṣya vakkāṇittariyavān avanaiyum.

things—property and educational qualifications. Any one possessing either of these two was entitled to stand as a candidate. Any one producing evidence of the property qualification required,—ownership of a quarter *veli* of land or house, was eligible.[1]

In the same way a Brahman, who might not own lands but who was an erudite scholar in the Mantrabrāhmaṇa, was qualified to contest the seat of the ward to which he belonged. There is no restriction in this case that he must be a landlord also. At any rate the record under review does not warrant an assumption like this.

In some cases both property and educational qualifications were demanded. One who knew one Veda and one Bhāṣya was eligible if he owned at least $\frac{1}{8}$ *veli* of land. This shows that owning a small property by itself did not entitle one for membership in the Board, though educational qualifications alone like a knowledge of Mantrabrāhmaṇa entitled him to a seat in the sabhā. In these circumstances it is difficult to accept the conclusion that the administration of the *Caturvedimangalam* was confined exclusively to one particular community.

While on this subject we will take up for examination the different standing committees of the sabhā and their duties, for it throws welcome light on the question of community representation in the sabhā. The sabhā carried on the management of the city through a number of committees which discharged their functions representing various interests[2]:

(*a*) Samvatsara vāriyam—annual supervision committee.
(*b*) Tōṭṭa vāriyam—the garden committee which was evidently in charge of parks, gardens, etc.
(*c*) ēri vāriyam—the tank supervision committee. It exercised supervision over reservoirs, tanks and sources of water supply.
(*d*) kaḷani vāriyam—the committee in supervision of cultivated lands.
(*e*) kaṇakku vāriyam—accounts supervision committee.

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[1] The Māṇūr Inscription of Māṛanjaḍaiyan (E.I., xxii, Jan., 1933) records a resolution of the mahāsabhā of Māṇanilainallūr fixing the procedure to be followed in future meetings of the sabhā. A minimum property qualification was fixed to be a member of the sabhā. Whether educational qualification was required in addition to this prescribed minimum in property, or property qualification alone entitled one to the council is not clearly told in the inscription. It seems that, according to the modified resolution, he who possessed a full *sravanai* could be selected to be a member. It may be noted here that Māṇanilainallūr is a *brahmadeya* village, and not a town.

[2] See Tiruppārkadal Ins. re Nārāyaṇa caturvedimangalam, S. K. Aiyangar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India*, pp. 170-1.

(*f*) kalingu vāriyam—sanitation committee. It took charge of drains, sluices, water pipes, etc.
(*g*) tadivali vāriyam—the committee exercising supervision over the construction and repair of roads and streets.
(*h*) kuḍumbu vāriyam—evidently a census committee.
(*i*) pañcavāra vāriyam—assessment and collection committee.
(*j*) poṉ vāriyam—gold supervision committee.
(*k*) committee for the administration of justice.

A glance at these committees and of their functions further corroborates our viewpoint. It is impossible to understand, knowing as we do, the *svadharma* of a Brahmana, whether Brahmans had the necessary technical skill and training to serve efficiently in such committees pertaining to agriculture, gold, tanks, roads, sanitation and gardens. It would be reasonable if experts—and in India they were only experts who pursued hereditary occupations—served on such committees. It may, however, be readily conceded that a member or two of these committees were Brahmans to help and advise the experts. I shall not go here into the details of every committee. But let me take up the Poṉ vāriyam or gold committee. It is not expressly stated what functions this committee discharged.[1] Poṉ was a coin in South India, circulating as currency as testified to by the inscriptions. Evidently cash transactions, including endowments, had this coin poṉ as the medium of exchange. It is natural that bad and counterfeit coins also were in circulation. This committee was apparently to deal with cases where the fineness and the weight of the gold had to be tested and certified. One other function of the committee is also said to have been the regulation of currency. If this were conceded, the area covered by the jurisdiction of the committee cannot be a village which would not require a committee to supervise its currency. Besides lending support to the view that its jurisdiction must have covered a flourishing city,—for in a village we could not ordinarily expect such heavy transactions—this committee demonstrates that some expert goldsmiths should have also served on the committee. That such committees consisted of only Brahmans is to say the least unconvincing.

We have therefore to conclude that in the *taṉiyūrs*, the sabhā, which was the municipal board, consisted of a number of committees reminding us of the Mauryan municipal system of government. It was composed of different communities and was consequently a cosmopolitan body.

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1 See in this connection K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, p. 143.

INDIAN ÆSTHETICS: A CRITICAL STUDY

By P. B. ADHIKARI

Prof. William Knight, in his Philosophy of the Beautiful, writes under the head of Oriental Arts and Speculations (Vol. I, chapter III):

'This want of beauty in the images used in religious worship applies, however, to the orientals generally. Scarcely one of them, in Assyria or India, had any beauty.'

In speaking of the beauty of the Art of later-day Persia, under the head Asiatic Art, the same author writes again:

'In the earlier times, the sense of beauty slumbered, as it did in India, and amongst the Aryan races generally. It is perhaps the more remarkable that it should not have awakened earlier in India, when we remembered that almost all the distinctive types of philosophical thought had sprung up, that a monistic as well as a dualistic conception of the world prevailed alongside of the popular polytheism and nature-worship. But there is scarcely a trace of feeling for the beautiful in the Brahmanical or Buddhistic writings. The testimony of Professor Max Müller on this point is more valuable than the conjectures of those who cannot speak with authority.'

And then the same writer quotes from Max Müller himself, in support of the statement above, to whom he referred on the subject. Herein below are given some extracts from the reply to his query:

'That the idea of the Beautiful in Nature did not exist in Hindu mind. It is the same with their descriptions of human beauty. They describe what they saw, they praise certain features, they compare them with other features of Nature; but the Beautiful as such does not exist for them. They never exalted either in sculpture or painting.............. With regard to actions, again, they speak of them as good or bad, brave or mean, but never as simply beautiful................ Beautiful, *śobhana*, means bright, *peśala*, variegated; *ramaniya*, pleasant. The beauty of poetry is expressed by *madhuni*, the sweet things; the beauty of Nature by *śobhā*, splendour. Of course there is a goddess of beauty, *Śri* or *Lakṣmi*, but they are both late, and they represent happiness rather than simple beauty.......... But it is strange, nevertheless,

that a people, so fond of the highest abstractions as the Hindus, should never have summarized their perceptions of the Beautiful.'

(*Max Müller.*)

We read again what the late Dr. Bernard Bosanquet writes about Oriental Arts in the Preface to his masterly work—*A History of Æsthetic*:

'Many readers may complain of the almost total absence of direct reference to Oriental Arts, whether in the ancient world or in modern China and Japan. For this omission there are several reasons. I was hardly called upon, even if I had been competent for the task, to deal with an æsthetic consciousness which had not, to my knowledge, reached the point of being clarified in a speculative theory.'

The quotations given above offer a sample of the opinions expressed, directly or indirectly, on Indian Æsthetics by some of the eminent recent writers who have treated the subject historically. The remarks are excusable in the two well-known English authors, who, it seems, did not care much to study Indian Art and its theory or had no acquaintance with the literature on the subject, ancient or modern. But it is a wonder that the learned Indologist Max Müller, who has done so much to study appreciatively and to popularize sympathetically in the West the productions of Indian thought, should have expressed himself in the language that he has done about the absence of any sense of beauty or a speculative theory of art in the philosophy or literature of this land he loved. The wonder becomes greater when we remember that almost all the recognized branches of Art had been practised and had developed in so many aspects in India from its ancient days. Those who have of late made a special study of the subject express, however, their views in different manner. We refer here only to two prominent writers, among others, of the day, whose opinions carry much weight on the matter, namely, Mr. K. B. Havell and Dr. A. Coomarswami.

Mr. Havell, in contrasting Musalman Painting with the Hindu, in his 'Handbook of Indian Art' (Section III—Painting) writes:

'The Hindu Artist, on the other hand, was both a court chronicler and a religious teacher . . . . . But though the Hindu painter imbues such subjects with a sensitiveness and artistic charm which are peculiarly his own, the appeal which he makes to the Indian mind is not purely æsthetic. His is no art for Art's sake: for the Hindu draws no distinction between what is sacred and profane. The deepest mysteries are clothed by him in the most familiar garb. So in the intimate scenes of ordinary village

life, he constantly brings before the spectator the esoteric teachings of his religious cult, knowing that the mysticism of the picture will find a ready response even from the unlettered peasant. That which seems to the modern western onlooker to be strange and unreal, often indeed gross, is to the Hindu mystic quite natural and obviously true.'

Dr. Coomarswami goes even further, in speaking of the theory of Arts in Asia. In his '*Transformation of Nature in Art*' (Chapter I) he writes: 'The fully evolved Indian theory of Beauty is in fact hardly to be dated before the tenth or the eleventh century, though the doctrine of *rasa* is already clearly enunciated in Bharata's *Nātya-śāstra*, which may be anterior to the fifth century and itself derives from still older sources.'

The same author, in describing the characteristics of Indian Theory of Art in the book referred to above, writes again:

'All these characteristics of the theory demonstrate its logical connection with the predominant trends of Indian thought, and its natural place in the whole body of Indian Philosophy.'.......... 'Consequently though it cannot be argued that any artistic theory is explicitly set forth in the Upaniṣads, it will not surprise us to find that the ideas and terminology of the later æsthetics are there already recognizable.'

And again the same writer states on another page of the book:

'The Indian Theory, in origin and formulation, seems at first sight to be *sui generis*.......... It does not in fact differ from what is implicit in the far eastern view of art, or on the other hand, in any essentials, from the scholastic Christian point of view . . . . , it does differ essentially from the modern non-intellectual interpretation of art as sensation.'

From the quotations above and from the other writings of the two exponents of the spirit of Indian Art, it does not appear that they admit that there was any distinctive theory of Art upheld in the philosophic thought of ancient India. As a matter of fact, looking into the principal systems of Indian philosophy, we fail to find in them any treatment of the subject of Æsthetics or the exposition of any theory or theories of beauty in them. This is because, we may presume, it was beside their purpose to go into the subject. The general aim of the systems was quite different. But from the absence of the subject from philosophic treatises, it does not follow, nor can it be asserted, that the subject was not handled at all in the ancient days of this land. There are some of the systems, as for instance, the Buddhistic and the Jaina, where we find fine psychological analysis and description of the æsthetic consciousness. There

are also some well-known ancient works which, among other things, deal elaborately also with the psychological aspects of the sense of beauty. But there is no definite treatment in them of its philosophical aspects or significance. In the Vaiṣṇava thought, and in folk-songs of the Bhakti-marga (the path of devotion) embodying in a way the thought, in the literature and sayings of the mystic saints of some other religious sects, there are no doubt hints given out, here and there, about what they conceived to be the essence of beauty. But nowhere in their literature do we find any definite and serious discussions, on philosophic lines, about the theory of beauty. Æsthetics as a philosophic study is conspicuous by its absence in them.

The suspicion naturally arises, therefore, whether there is any definite idea or ideas underlying the Indian Arts, which might form the subject-matter of an Indian Æsthetics. The present-day historians of Indian Art have all failed, it appears, to trace out a unity of ideas running through the development of the Art. Even the learned Dr. Coomarswami, the author of the otherwise masterly work—'*The History of Indian and Indonesian Art*', is no exception there. And there is still a difference of opinion among eminent writers of the day on the subject. The two representative figures among them, Mr. Havell and Dr. Coomarswami too do not appear to agree in all points.

This difference of opinion may be partly due to what is considered to have been the foreign influences in the development of Indian Art. These influences, where they appear distinctly, are found to have been heterogeneous in their character. They are partly religious, partly secular. The indigenous primary influences appear to be predominantly religious, although here too there is difference of opinion and mode of interpretation. Besides, we note here a diversity of ideas as finding expression in different periods. The secular influences are mostly foreign, the consequence of which has been a sheer want of assimilation to the spirit of the indigenous productions. Wherever this assimilation has been attempted, the two aspects have either remained apart without unification or one factor has predominated over the other.

Coming down to modern artistic productions of this country in various fields, we find them to be mainly of two kinds : the *Imitative* and the *Creative*, the former being mostly under foreign influences, especially European. The new modes of æsthetic expressions as realistic and idealistic both being no exception to the rule. It is a pity that this should have been so. The reason for this is supposed to be the absence of any definite underlying idea which may be regarded as truly Indian inspiring and controlling the productions,

particularly the realistic ones. The idealistic creations are unique, even in the West, differing with different artists of the day. We find in them a lack of what may be called a definite artistic purpose. It is rather art running wild, except in some eminent geniuses of the day. In India, too, the productions called idealistic bear mostly this unique character, varying with different artists. There too it is difficult to discover any underlying purpose or ideas in the productions.

The question now arises—Is it possible to discover any conscious purpose or ideas underlying artistic productions of a creative nature, which appears to be spontaneous ? This question is a psychological one. The artists themselves are able to answer this question. The second and more important question is—should not there be any conscious ideals guiding artistic creations and finding expression through them ? If so, what should they be from the Indian standpoint ? Or if they are to have universal values, is it possible to lay down positively what these ideals should be, instead of leaving the productions to the mere impulse of individual artists ? The question is one of validity of values, and as such it is a philosophical one. This is the fundamental problem with Æsthetics as a philosophical study. It is a subject in the forefront of some modern writers, as it was in the days of Plato and Aristotle.

Philosophy is the highest expression of the culture of a people. It is not simply an intellectual study. It has also its influence on life, offering the highest ideals as based on a true view of human nature. Should art be independent of such ideals ? The true value of any human ideal lies in its universal validity as applying to the whole of humanity. Indian philosophy aims at this universality, as any philosophy worth the name does. The question, therefore, arises in what way should these ideals influence art, so that its productions may have a legitimate place in the culture of a people. The problem is a deep and difficult one. But its importance cannot for this reason be waived, as in modern art it appears to be done. When this problem is handled properly from the standpoint of Indian philosophy so far as it relates to human life (and there is nothing in Indian thought which does not ultimately so relate itself), there will arise the possibility of an Indian Æsthetics in the true sense of the term. At present, however, there is a felt need of it. To the best of my knowledge, there does not appear to have been made as yet any serious and systematic treatment of the subject on the line suggested.

NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY LIFE OF RANA SANGA

By SUBIMAL CHANDRA DUTT

In the political history of India the third decade of the sixteenth century A.C. constitutes a very momentous landmark, for, within that brief space of time, are crowded together such important developments as the downfall of the Sultanate of Delhi, the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India and an abortive attempt for the revival of Hindu Empire. With the history of the first two of the above incidents, students of Indian History are fairly well acquainted; but that of the last may hardly be said to have been rescued from the realm of obscurity. An attempt has therefore been made in the present article to throw some light on the early life of the Rajput leader whose name is associated with this project for the re-establishment of Hindu hegemony in India.

For this purpose help has been taken from a few contemporary inscriptions, some relevant Moslem records, Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* and a Rajasthani manuscript of the seventeenth century. Of these materials, Tod's work is more or less a collection of traditions current about the author's own times and its value consists in the circumstance that it provides us with many traditions which but for Tod would not have been accessible to us. The Rajasthani manuscript, mentioned above, was compiled by Muhanote Nensi about the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century. Competent critics testify to its value as a source ot Rajput history; and so far as sixteenth century affairs are concerned, its authority is almost unimpeachable, both by reason of the proximity of the compiler to the events described as well as the utmost care with which he collected the information embodied in his work.

The leader of the Hindu revival of the 16th century mentioned above was Sangram Sinha, better known as Rana Sanga. Born in 1483 A.C., he ascended the throne of Mewar on his father Raymall's death in 1509 A.C., when he was 26; and he died in 1528 A.C. at the age of 45, after a rule of 19 years. Of the incidents of the first 20 years of his life we have no record. The first important event of his career was the part he took in a fraternal feud which embittered the last years of his father's life. But about the circumstances that gave rise to this quarrel, its progress and consequences, traditions give an idea which is not supported by authoritative evidence.

Tod's *Annals of Mewar* maintains that Rana Raymall had three sons who in order of seniority were: Sanga, Prithviraj and Jaymall. Although Sanga was the heir to the throne he observed to his brothers that he would waive his claims, and trust them to the omen which should be given by the Charani Devi at Nahra Magra. Accordingly, the three brothers accompanied by their uncle Surajmall repaired to her abode and were scarcely seated, when the Charani Devi declared that the future of the princes was indicated by the seats they had taken. Sanga having taken his seat on a panther-hide was to be the sovereign and Surajmall, resting as he did a part of his body on the same, was to enjoy half the kingdom. The two disappointed brothers at once attacked Sanga and Surajmall who saved themselves with the greatest difficulty.

The important broad features of the above account on analysis will be found to consist in the following:—

Firstly, the cause of the family struggle was provided by the question of succession. Secondly, the initiative in the quarrel came from Sanga. Thirdly, in the struggle itself, Sanga and his uncle Surajmall were allies. So far as these three principal circumstances are concerned, no evidence has so far been traced which either directly or indirectly throws any discredit on them, and since they are maintained in all the available accounts, they may be accepted as authentic. Of the three facts mentioned above, the first requires no elucidation; but a closer and detailed study of the second and third yields interesting results.

Admitting that the initiative came from Sanga, one may be tempted to ask, why did Sanga open the problem of succession at all, specially as according to Tod he was the first son of his father and therefore the legal successor? The *Annals of Mewar* indicates as if it was a spirit of magnanimity or carefreeness that made Sanga waive his legal rights. But such a spirit of generosity ill accords with the sentiment and morality of an age in which we find a son killing his father in his eagerness to enjoy a crown which would have been his in the ordinary course of circumstances. In fact, the reason of Sanga's forcing the issue is to be sought in something else than pure selflessness. What this was will be clear from the following considerations. There is incontrovertible evidence to show that Sanga was not the first of Raymall's sons. An inscription of 1500 A.C. applies the designation of '*Mahā Kumāra*' to Prithviraj, indicating that at that time he was the heir-apparent and not Sanga and therefore the first of the brothers. Besides, Nensi's *Khyat* gives the order of the sons of Raymall as Prithviraj, Jaymall, Jai Sinha and Sanga. In the face of this contemporary and more

trustworthy evidence, we have no alternative but to take the latter traditions about Sanga's position in the royal family as absolutely unreliable.

If it is accepted that Sanga was the fourth of the brothers, then the story of the surrender of his rightful claims on the throne should be regarded as unhistorical. The prophecy of the Charani Devi must also be relegated into the realm of imagination, all the more so because it involves too accurate an anticipation of what actually took place later.

Viewed in the light of the above considerations, it appears clear that Sanga took the initiative in the struggle for succession not because he was impelled by a spirit of magnanimity, but because there was no possibility of his securing the throne in the regular course of events. Not self-effacement but pure and aggressive self-assertion is what lay at the root of his action.

At first sight it might seem as if Sanga acted rashly in thus making a bid for the crown for which he could put forward no legal claims. But that his action was not a precipitate one will be clear if we turn to the third point in the narrative, namely, the alliance between Sanga and his uncle Surajmall. For a full appreciation of this alliance one must take a peep into the past history of the Rana's family.

Rana Mokal, grandfather of Raymall, had seven sons, the first two being Kumbha and Kshema. On Mokal's death in 1433 A.C., Kumbha succeeded to the throne and ruled till 1469 A.C. Throughout his reign Kumbha found an irreconcilable enemy in his own brother Kshema; and, according to Nensi, when the two brothers died, the feud devolved upon their respective heirs, Raymall and Surajmall. All the relevant authorities maintain that a most dreadful family feud this was.

Now, it was this Surajmall, the enemy of Raymall, who supported Sanga in the struggle for succession. The situation is therefore extremely interesting. It is quite clear that a quarrel within the ruling family was highly advantageous to Surajmall as it carried dissension in the very heart of his enemy's citadel. From this consideration as well as remembering that Sanga had no legal claims on the throne, it seems certain that it was Surajmall who instilled into Sanga's mind the idea of fighting for the throne of Mewar.

An examination of the chronology of this period throws further interesting light on the event. In his *Udaypur Rājya Kā Itihās*, Pandit G. H. Ojha refers to three memorial tablets, in two of which it is mentioned that in 1504 A.C. Rathor Bida gave up his life on behalf of Sangram Sinha, son of Rana Raymall. This incident,

according to Pandit Ojha, took place at the time when Sanga was trying to save himself by flight from the pursuit of his brothers. The date mentioned may therefore be regarded as pointing to the end of the struggle for succession. Its beginning must therefore be traced to some time earlier. Now, according to Firishta, in 1503 A.C. Sultān Nāsiruddīn Khiljī of Mālwa invaded and devasted a part of Mewar. It is thus clear that three events, struggle with Surajmall, insurrection of Sanga, and the invasion of Mewar, happened at the same time; and the presumption is that they were connected with each other. That Sanga's insurrection had a clear connection with Surajmall's feud had been demonstrated above. That the Mālwa invasion in the same way bears a close relation with the same event will be clear from the following circumstances. Nensi holds that Surajmall's father Kshema set the Mālwa Sultān on Mewar. That the son should take a leaf out of his father's book is easily comprehensible. Besides, one tradition preserved by Tod clearly maintains that it was Surajmall who, with the help of the Sultān of Mālwa, attacked Mewar.

Thus the year 1503-4 seems to have been a time of great difficulty for Mewar. As far as can be gathered from the available records, Surajmall was the principal mover against the State. In order to satisfy his hereditary enmity against his cousin Rana Raymall, he brought about a widespread movement. He persuaded the Sultān of Mālwa, who had also to pay many an old score against Mewar, to launch a campaign against her; and at the same time he was able by winning over Sanga to involve the Rana's family in an internal dissension. The destruction of the enemy seemed all but accomplished. But Mewar weathered the storm most heroically, thanks to the bravery displayed by the Rana, but more specially his eldest son and heir-apparent, Prithviraj. The seventeenth century chronicler, Muhanote Nensi, describes how the latter saved the country from the depredations of the Mālwa armies which were hurled over the frontiers of the State, how Surajmall had to acknowledge defeat and how Sanga had to seek safety by flight. The conduct of Sanga throughout this critical period had been highly reprehensible. He had allowed himself to be used as a cat's paw by the most inveterate enemy of the State and had very nearly brought about its ruin. No wonder that all authorities should state that the rest of his father's life he had to pass in exile, 'self-exiled from perpetual fear of his life'.

PĀLAKĀPYA

By S. K. DE, *Dacca University*

The work on elephant-lore, entitled *Hastyāyurveda*, which is ascribed to Pālakāpya (or °kāppa), was published as early as 1894.[1] Jolly mentioned it in his work on (Indian) Medicine in 1901,[2] but attention was not drawn to it until 1919 when Haraprasād Śāstrī [3] first attempted to estimate its importance and assign a very early date to it. The contents of the work have not yet been examined, nor have the numerous references to it and quotations from it in later technical literature checked and identified. This small paper has no such ambitious pretensions, but it wants to present certain facts in relation to the work which might be of interest.

This fairly extensive work gives in four sections an elaborate account of the ailments peculiar to the elephant and contains much miscellaneous information about the formidable but useful animal. It is written, after the manner of the Purāṇas, in the form of a dialogue held in Campā between king Romapāda and Muni Pālakāpya. This Romapāda is mentioned as the mythical contemporary of Daśaratha famed in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; and the author, endowed with a fictitious Kāpya-gotra and possibly with a fictitious name,[4] is likewise a legendary figure, his father having been a sage and his mother a she-elephant! In i. 1. 39 and 101 a reference is made to the hermitage of Pālakāpya which is placed in the region where the river Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) flows from the Himalayas into the sea. In spite of the obviously legendary character of the narrator and the hearer, it is possible that an historical fact is behind this statement; and it has been surmised that the work in its present form was redacted in some place in Bengal or Assam on the banks of the Brahmaputra. Since the device of a legendary narrator

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[1] Ed. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 26, Poona 1894. The work is also sometimes called Gaja-cikitsā, Gaja-vaidya, Gajāyurveda and, more appropriately, Gaja-vidyā. MSS. noticed in Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, pp. 141*a*, 336*b*; ii, p. 28*a*.

[2] J. Jolly, *Medicin*, *GIPA*, Strassburg 1901, p. 14, sec. 12.

[3] *JBORS.*, 1919, p. 313; also see *JBORS.*, 1924, p. 317. Śāstrī is inclined to assign the work to the 5th or 6th century B.C.

[4] P. C. Bagchi (*IHQ.*, 1933, p. 261) demonstrates that Pālakāpya is a fictitious name, the term *pāla-* (*pal-*, *pil-*, *peḍ-*), as well as *-kāpya* (a form of *-kapi*; cf. Vedic Vṛṣākapi, which need not, as often supposed, mean 'a male monkey'), meaning 'an elephant'.

and hearer is common enough in the Purāṇas, from which it is evidently borrowed, it would not be safe to base merely on it any chronological inference; but, as high antiquity has been claimed for the production as the 5th or 6th century B.C. The first surmise regarding the place of origin of the work is not unlikely; and Yuan Chwang [1] speaks of wild elephants in herds ravaging Kāmarūpa (Western Assam), which he takes to be the confines of 'East India'. The date of the work is certainly earlier than that of Kṣīra-svāmin, who in the 11th century A.D. quotes Pālakāpya twice in his commentary on the *Amara-kośa* (on ii. 8. 38; iii. 3. 148); and it is probable that, whatever may have been the date of its final redaction, Pālakāpya's work could not have come into existence at a very late period. The encyclopædic *Agni-purāṇa*, for instance, some of whose Śāstric sections have to be dated earlier than the 10th century,[2] represents that its chapter on Gaja-cikitsā (ed. Ānandāśrama, Ch. 287) is narrated by Pālakāpya to king Romapāda of Aṅga. From the 11th century downwards a large number of quotations from Pālakāpya occurs in technical works. Hemādri, in the second half of the 12th century, extensively quotes Pālakāpya in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*,[3] while in the 14th century quotations occur in Mallinātha (on *Raghu°* , xvi, 3) and *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* (Nos. 1563–69; 1594–99). It would be interesting to trace these quotations in the present text of *Hastyāyurveda*, but the passage quoted by Mallinātha does occur in it as i. 1. 218-19. It is also not improbable that Kālidāsa alludes to Pālakāpya [4] when he makes Sunandā,

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[1] Th. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang* (London, 1904-5), ii, p. 186.

[2] See S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, pp. 102–4, on the Alaṃkāra-chapters; on the Smṛti-chapters, see R. C. Hazra in *IHQ.*, 1936, pp. 683–91. It is interesting to note that the MSS. available for the *Agni-purāṇa* are almost entirely in Bengali or Devanāgarī scripts; South Indian MSS. are extremely rare, while Kashmiri or Nepali MSS. are not known. This curious fact would probably show its prevalence in Bengali and Devanāgarī area; and the fact that Bengali MSS. are by far the more plentiful might indicate the eastern origin, or at least popularity, of the Purāṇa. It is, therefore, not surprising that it should cite Pālakāpya.

[3] Ed. Bibl. Ind., Vrata-khaṇḍa, Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 222–25 (66 metrical lines), 982-83 (4 metrical lines), 1036 (55 metrical lines with short prose passages, and then continued with *tathā*,—in all, 255 metrical lines). These passages relate to such topics as Gaja-pūjā, Gaja-śānti, Gaja-pālaka-lakṣaṇa, Gaja-nīrājana-vidhi, etc. The introductory verses of the *Adbhuta-sāgara* of Ballālasena mention Pālakāpya as one of its authorities (wrongly read as Pilukāvya in the printed edition; cf. Kane, *Hist. of Dharma-śāstra*, i, p. 341, footnote). References also occur in the *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitramiśra quite frequently (Lakṣaṇaprakāśa, pp. 321f., 324f., 330, 346-47, 350, 352, 362-63, 399–401; Saṃskāraprakāśa, p. 513, ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar, Calcutta, 1875).

[4] So explained by Hemādri, Cāritravardhana and Mallinātha.

during the Svayaṃvara of Indumatī (*Raghu*°, vi, 27), describe the king of Aṅga as one 'whose elephants are trained by Sūtra-kāras'. Pālakāpya's present work is not written in the form of Sūtra, but in Kārikā with occasional prose exposition, somewhat in the manner of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*; but since Bharata has also been called a Muni and Sūtra-kāra, a similar description of Pālakāpya cannot be entirely ruled out. If this presumption is acceptable, then Pālakāpya's treatise on elephant-science, like Bharata's work on Dramaturgy, should be taken as embodying a traditional compendium, which was redacted in Aṅga sometime before Kālidāsa in the name of a legendary sage to whom the first systematisation of the science was ascribed, and in the shape and diction of an ancient Śāstra, the Purāṇic form being thus intelligible.

But it need not have been the present text in part or in entirety. The present text is an extensive compilation, with a legendary introduction, of 160 chapters covering 700 pages in the printed edition, and is divided (after the manner of medical works) into four Sthānas or sections, namely, Mahāroga (principal diseases, 18 chapters) Kṣudra-roga (minor diseases, 72 chapters), Śalya (Surgery, 34 chapters) and Uttara (Therapy, Bath, Dietics, etc., 36 chapters). The science, to which Kauṭilya refers when he speaks of elephant-doctors, and which at one time must have possessed considerable importance in India, is now nearly lost, and its technicalities have become obscure; but this earliest authoritative contribution to the subject, going under the name of Pālakāpya, deserves more attention, especially in Bengal as a presumably eastern production of great interest.

A TANTRA WORK ON THE CULT OF PAÑCĀNANA

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

The cult of Pañcānana,[1] the Guardian Deity of children, is immensely popular among the womenfolk of Western Bengal, specially of the lower class, who worship the deity for the protection and welfare of their young ones. Almost every village has one or more separate places of worship assigned to this deity. Localities passing under the name of Pañcānanatalā (places sacred to Pañcānana) are rather common in the villages of Western Bengal. The known literature on this cult is, however, extremely meagre. Brief descriptions of the cult presumably based on hearsay have been given by Ward [2] and De.[3] A more detailed description is met with in the *Viśvakoṣa* [4] (Bengali Encyclopædia) which refers to a mediæval Bengali work on the cult attributed to one Manohara Vyāsa. This is stated to be one of several inaccessible works of the type popular among low-class people. The work describes how King Suratha of Hastināpura had a son through the grace of the deity. The royal couple apparently forgot the deity as the child grew up and the offended god had it carried away by witches, who brought it back only when the deity was propitiated. Thereupon he was worshipped with due pomp and festivities, a temple was consecrated to him and the story of his greatness which was made known on all sides, led to the popularity of the cult.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, fortunately, is in possession of three MSS.—perhaps all which are known—of a Tantric text called the *Bṛhadrudrayāmala*, sections of which deal exclusively with this cult. These sections, in the manner of maṅgalakāvyas of mediæval Bengal, one of which may not unlikely have been the

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[1] The deity is also, and perhaps more popularly, known as Pañcānanda and Pāñcu Thākur.

[2] W. Ward—*A view of the history, literature and religion of the Hindoos*—Vol. II, Serampore, 1815 (p. 182-3).

[3] Lal Behari Day—*Bengal Peasant Life*—First Edition 1874, New edition 1878 (pp. 62–65 of the reprint in 1926).

[4] It seeks to identify the deity with Tirurvyar whose temple is situated near Tanjore and who is celebrated in a Sanskrit *māhātmya* work supposed to form part of the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*. But the identification does not seem to be correct: the name of the deity in question is Pañcanadīśvara (Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, Madras 1906, p. 277) and the name of the *māhātmya* work is *Pañcanada-māhātmya* (Catalogus Catalogorum, I, 314, III, 67).

basis of the Sanskrit version given here, record legends (different from the one already referred to) concerning the powers of the deity in causing destruction when offended and bringing prosperity when duly worshipped. The MSS. are especially interesting in view of the fact that Sanskrit works pertaining to folk-cults are rare, if not totally unknown.

The MSS. which are lying in the rooms of the Society for a pretty long time do not seem to have attracted the attention they deserved.[1] One of the MSS. which originally belonged to the Fort William College appears to have been acquired by the College in 1825, the date found written on the obverse of the first leaf of the MS. along with the name of the College. It evidently came to the Society in the beginning of the 19th century when the MS. collection of the College was transferred to this institution. It is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Society published in 1838.[2] The second MS., dated 1741 S.E. (1819 A.D.), was acquired presumably in 1891-2.[3] This MS. seems to be identical with the one described by H. P. Shastri in 1900.[4] The third MS. is a comparatively recent acquisition having been acquired as late as 1914.

The first MS. contains four sections of the work, each complete in several chapters, accompanied by the commentary of Rāmacandra or Rāmānanda. According to the commentator the MS. presents only an abridged version [5] of several sections. The entire work, says he, consists of twenty-two sections [6] of which the first section deals with Gaṇeśa worship, the second, third and fourth with the advent and achievements of Pañcānana, the second and third with the characteristics of a barren woman and the fourth with the rules of celibacy. Being asked by Nārada, Viṣṇu narrated the essence of

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[1] About three quarters of a century after the acquisition of the first of the three MSS., Mm. H. P. Shastri made a passing reference to the subject-matter of the second MS. acquired by him (*Notices of Sans. MSS.* I, Pref. p. xxxv) while the first MS. remained unnoticed.

[2] Sūcipustakam, p. 43.

[3] H. P. Shastri—*Notices of Sans. MSS.*, Vol. XI, Pref. p. 14, Vol. I (second series), Pref. p. 1.

[4] *Notices of Sans. MSS.* I, 250.

[5] This, in his opinion, is indicated by the name of the work as found in the colophons of the MS. The work is here called *Bṛhadrudrayāmalīya*, i.e. a work derived from the *Bṛhadrudrayāmala*.

[6] द्वाविंशतिखण्डात्मको बृहद्रुद्रयामलाख्यो ग्रन्थो वर्तते। तत्र प्रथमखण्डे गाणपत्यनिरूपणम्, द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थेषु श्रीमत्पञ्चतुण्डजन्मकर्म च, द्वितीये तृतीये बन्ध्यालक्षणम्, चतुर्थे ब्रह्मचर्यादिनिरूपणम्। नारदेन पृष्टो भगवान् द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थखण्डेभ्यः सारमुद्धृत्य नारदायाकथयत्। अतएव बृहद्रुद्रयामले भवः बृहद्रुद्रयामलीय इति समुक्तो वर्तते।

—Commentary on the colophon of chapter I of section II.

sections II–IV to Nārada. So, the text in the MS. is in the form of an interlocution between Kṛṣṇa and Nārada.

The arrangement of the topics and chapters in the abridged version which has general agreement with what is indicated above, is as follows: The first section in it deals in three chapters with the details of the worship of Gaṇeśa, the second [1] in thirty chapters with legends of Pañcānana, the third in twenty-two chapters speaks principally of barrenness and its magical remedies which include the worship of Pañcānana. The fifth section [2] (which is referred to as the fourth in the colophons) describes in seven chapters the details of the worship of Kālī while the text of the fourth section of five chapters dealing with general topics like the different modes of worship and the different castes is preserved in the third MS. belonging to the Society that has already been referred to.

The work itself may not be old. The epithet *Bṛhad* (Big) is suspicious. It seeks to associate the cult with the well-known, highly authoritative and fairly old Tantric text called the *Rudrayāmala* and thereby claim antiquity for the cult. It may possibly have been a late work of Bengal origin as all the known MSS. of the work have been found in Bengal and as it deals with a cult known probably in Bengal alone. The work is not referred to even in well-known Tantric digests of Bengal like the *Tantrasāra* and *Śyāmārahasya*. It is not mentioned in any of the well-known traditional lists of Tantras. The work has however immense anthropological interest in that it preserves a comparatively detailed account of a popular folk-deity.

The work opens with a description of a council of the gods who decide to create a new deity with energies borrowed from different gods (Ch. 1). The deity was born with the body of Śiva, head of Viṣṇu and limbs taken from all other gods (Ch. 2). Śiva gave him four messengers. Followed by them the deity came down on earth. He took his seat underneath two trees (Vaṭa and Aśvattha) in a place called Kāñcananagara and declared that worship offered in his name on a slab of stone under these trees would be highly efficacious (Ch. 3). Four Brahmins came at the time to take their bath in a near-by tank. They laughed at the messengers who referred to their descent from heaven for doing good to the misguided people of the world. Naturally the god felt insulted and

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[1] This portion of the work accompanied by the commentary of Rāmānanda on it is also contained in the second MS. already referred to.

[2] तत्र च पञ्चमे खण्डे कालीधर्मो निरूपितः—Beginning of the commentary of the section (p. 104).

made up his mind to put the Brahmins into difficulties (Ch. 4). Accordingly the messengers went to the houses of the Brahmins and caused their wives and children to be attacked by a peculiar disease by which they lost all movements. Physicians failed to make any diagnosis (Ch. 5). Everything however was all right when the Brahmins offered worship to the deity (Ch. 7).

A gardener who refused to supply a garland to this 'unknown deity' was also similarly punished and was subsequently forgiven on his duly worshipping the god (Ch. 8). Unusual and unique powers possessed by the god were demonstrated by two of the messengers bringing back to life, through the worship of the deity, a son of an old Brahmin couple who had died long ago (Ch. 9).

King Naradhvaja of Kāñcananagara who was passing unhappy days with his eight wives all childless, had one son each by all his wives, after worshipping the god according to the instructions of the four Brahmins whose story has already been related (Ch. 10–12). He worshipped the deity every day and was eager to consecrate a golden temple. His sons agreed to get gold from Laṅkā, a terrible place where even the ministers were afraid to go. On their way they were obstructed by the messengers of King Kīrtidhvaja who laughed at the name of the unfamiliar deity and were killed (Ch. 15). Then came Vīrasena, son of Kīrtidhvaja, and defeated the eight brothers. They prayed to Pañcānana for help and his messengers came to their rescue and killed prince Vīrasena (Ch. 16). At the suggestion of Viṣṇu, his tutelary deity, who referred to the supremacy of Pañcānana and blamed the king for his foolishness in going against the devotees of so powerful a deity, Kīrtidhvaja surrendered before the sons of Naradhvaja and stopped any further mischief being done (Ch. 17). The princes then proceeded on their way and approached a Brahmin engaged in austerities, for blessings. But strangely they turned blind and prayed to the lord who came to them and explained how the Brahmin having had his belongings stolen away had announced that any human being coming within two miles of his hermitage would become blind. The god however could not do anything in the matter and asked the princes to propitiate the Brahmin himself. This they did and were cured (Ch. 18–19).

Going farther they came across a pond and got into it for drinking water. There they were swallowed by a crocodile and its mate. The princes prayed to the god from within the stomachs of the beasts. The god came and on his intervention the princes were disgorged (Ch. 21). They then reached the sandalwood forest where they found a silver temple with a golden boundary wall. Śiva, the lord of the temple, came to them, blessed them on their errand and asked them to propitiate Hanumān at Setubandha (Rameswaram).

Duly propitiated Hanumān helped them to cross the breach [1] in the bridge with his big tail and they safely reached Laṅkā (Ch. 22). On the recommendation of Hanumān, Vibhīṣaṇa, the king of Laṅkā, gave them gold (Ch. 23) and the princes started back for their own land in boats full of gold. When they reached their country they were warmly greeted by their parents and subjects (Ch. 24). Naradhvaja then sought the help of Viśvakarman and a beautiful temple was made and consecrated to the god with proper worship [2] and festivity (Ch. 25). The god then asked the king to propagate his worship. The king accordingly issued a statement referring to the extraordinary powers possessed by the deity. The cult of the deity thus became popular. King Jarāsandha, however, insulted the statement and tore it off. As a result the wrath of Pañcānana fell on him; his sons died and he himself was stupified. At this stage Nārada came to his help and worshipped the deity on his behalf. Everything was as before, and Jarāsandha became a devoted worshipper of the deity (Ch. 26).

It was then ordained by Pañcānana that his messengers along with other evil spirits would have complete sway over the people, specially women and children, who neglected and went against certain popular customs (Ch. 28). Then the deity took the king with his sons and wives in his chariot and went to heaven. Of the twenty-one heavens situated at the top of Sumeru the heaven called Nirmala was assigned to the king (Ch. 30).

Here ends what is called the *Janmakhaṇḍa* or Section on the advent of the deity. It is not known if there were other sections giving detailed rules of the worship of the deity. It is these rules that are given more prominence than anything else in the Tantras which deal with various cults and rites.

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[1] Made by Lakṣmaṇa on his way back to Ayodhyā after Sītā's rescue.

[2] Worship was offered to the god along with his attendants who are all described here. The god is white, five-faced, riding on a bull while three groups of his attendants are respectively yellowish, reddish and black, riding respectively on elephant, horse and camel, having respectively bow, trident and sword in their hands.

वृषभस्थं पञ्चवक्त्रं श्वेतवर्णं महाविभुम् । द्विभुजं श्वेतमाल्यानुलेपनं सततं भजे ॥

शान्तदान्तौ गौरवर्णौ दन्त्यारूढौ महाविभू । धनुर्हस्तौ महासत्त्वौ तौ देवौ सततं भजे ॥

रक्ताभौ घोटकस्थौ ताम्रवर्णौ महाभुजौ । शूलहस्तौ जटाशीर्षौ पञ्चवक्त्रावहं भजे ॥

हनुदान्तौ कृष्णवर्णौ मुण्डमालाविभूषणौ । उष्ट्रस्थौ खड्गिनौ भावभक्तौ सततं भजे ॥

—*Bṛhadrudrayāmala* II, 25, 11–14.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN DELHI AND MEWAR IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

By ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE

With the opening of the eighth century of the Christian era commenced a long series of political crusades by the followers of the Arabian Prophet against the infidels of Hindustan.[1] Six centuries [2] elapsed before they penetrated into Southern India and a real Turkish empire was established in the country. The Muhammadan conquest of India was in no way an easy walk over: the broken fragments of Hindu power fought a strenuous fight against the aliens, with failures generally, but not as fruitlessly as is usually supposed. It was upon the Rajputs that the supremely difficult task of playing the champion of India fell; and every student of sober history and every lover of historical romance must be familiar with the story of their achievements.

Apart from all romantic flourishes, however, there is the hard historical interpretation of the conflicts between the Muhammadans and the Rajputs. When, after the defeat and death of Prithviraj, the great Chahamana ruler, the Turkish Sultanate of Delhi came to be founded, the Sultans at once began aggressive campaigns against the Rajputs, and this policy was so vitally important that rulers up to the time of Aurangzeb had to continue it. One of the central movements of medieval Indian History is the struggle between the Muhammadan rulers of Delhi and the princes of Rajputana. The continuity of the movement could not have been assured but for the pressure of certain essential and fundamental conflicts in the interests of these two groups of rulers; we cannot explain it only by referring to the ambition or caprice of individuals. No doubt the Muhammadan monarchs aimed at the expansion of their territory, and for this purpose conquests were necessary. But this can hardly be a sufficient explanation for their repeated expeditions against the Rajputs. Rajputana, covered by hills and desert and having too little of fertility, was not a very alluring object to any conqueror. Then, again, there was the factor of religion. The '*mlechchhas*' and the 'infidels' were too divergent to be reconciled at that time; while

[1] The first recorded Arab invasion of India took place in 636-37 A.D., but plunder—not conquest—was the aim of the early raids. The first invasion aiming at conquest was led by Muhammad bin Qasim in 712 A.D.

[2] Alauddin Khalji invaded Devagiri in 1294 A.D.

the Muhammadans had to spread the religion of the Prophet, the Hindus had to defend their gods and temples. But this also is not by itself an adequate explanation. Alauddin [1] and Akbar had banished the consideration of religious sentiments from the sphere of active politics, and yet they had to direct their special attention to Rajputana. It is clear, therefore, that while territorial ambition and religious considerations must have to a great extent influenced the policy pursued by the Muhammadan sovereigns of Delhi towards the Rajput princes, yet there must have been some other, and perhaps more important, reasons which led them to continue interminable hostilities against the desert chieftains.

The orthodox theory that the physical geography of a country exercises much influence upon its historical development has some truth in it. From the military point of view in particular, Geography is almost the very foundation of History, because political History is largely concerned with wars, and wars and Geography are very closely connected. The expansion of States very often assumes peculiar character owing to geographical considerations. On close analysis it will be found that the root of the conflicts between the Muhammadan rulers of Delhi and the Rajput princes lay really in the peculiar geographical position of Rajputana and its importance from the military point of view.

The centre of north-western India is occupied by Rajputana. Through Rajputana, diagonally from the south-west north-eastward, there runs the range of the Aravalli Hills for a distance of fully 300 miles. There are two main divisions, the north-west and the south-east of the Aravallis. The former stretches from Sind on the west, northward along the southern Punjab frontier to near Delhi on the north-east. As a whole, this tract is sandy, ill-watered and unproductive. Within this division lies the great Indian desert, prolonged sea-ward by the salt, and partly tidal, marsh of the Rann of Cutch. The second division contains the higher and more fertile regions, intersected by extensive hill ranges and traversed by considerable rivers. Within this division lies Mewar.

Delhi stands on the west bank of the Jumna at the northern extremity of the Aravallis, just where the invading forces from the

[1] Amir Khusrav (*Tarikh-i-Alai*, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 84) says that Alauddin's aim in sending Malik Kafur to Dvarasamudra and Ma'bar was 'to spread the light of the Muhammadan religion' in 'that distant country', and the poet's eloquent description of the destruction of idols and temples and the slaughter of idolaters may appear to lend some support to this view. But Barani, who was by no means less orthodox than the celebrated poet, does not say that the Sultan was inspired by crusading zeal. (See *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 203-4). Alauddin's real aim seems to have been secular rather than religious. (See the present writer's note in *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 351).

north-west came one after another. If the invaders wanted to proceed to Western India and the Deccan, they had to march through Rajputana. As the north-western side of the Aravallis was unfit for the march of armies, they had to proceed through the south-eastern portion of the country, within which was situated the territory of Mewar. When, therefore, the rulers of Delhi wanted to extend their power in Gujarat and in the Deccan, they had to encounter opposition from the Rajputs of Mewar, who, it is easy to see, would not allow them to pass through their State unmolested. It was also necessary for the rulers of Delhi to crush the Rajputs before trying to extend their authority over Gujarat and the Deccan, because it would have been extremely unsafe to leave in the rear such powerful princes who might attack them when they were engaged in southern campaigns. That this is not reading subtle modern meaning into crude medieval considerations is clear from various statements in Muslim historical works.[1] Firishta[2] makes it clear that Alauddin was inspired by similar strategical motives when he personally proceeded to conquer Chitor in 1303 for facilitating the progress of his army in the Deccan.

In the second place, we should not overlook the very important fact that Delhi lay within about 300 miles from Chitor and as Ajmer was included within the Sultanate, the boundaries of the dominions of Delhi and the territories of the Guhilots ran side by side. It was not possible for the Muhammadan rulers of Delhi to tolerate the existence of powerful States along their own borders. We know that Sher Shah had to crush Maldeo of Jodhpur for this reason. Though Mewar was a small State, yet the strong fort of Chitor and the renowned valour of her sons as well as the tradition of the hostility of the Guhilots to the '*mlechchhas*' could not but give rise to serious apprehension in the minds of the Muhammadan rulers of Delhi, and it was wise to crush the enemy at the earliest opportunity.

These, then, are the causes which explain the struggles of the Guhilots against the Muhammadan rulers of Delhi.

II

Three reigns approximately cover the history of Mewar in the thirteenth century. Jaitrasimha ruled at least from 1213 A.D. to

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[1] Barani (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 169–71) says that as early as 1298 A.D. Alauddin kept before him the idea of conquering 'such places as Rantambhor, Chitor, Chanderi, Malwa, Dhar, and Ujjain'. All these places were strategically important for an intending conqueror of the Deccan. (See Prof. S. C. Dutt's article on '*The First Saka of Citod*' in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1931.)

[2] Briggs, Vol. I. Cf. *Journal of Indian History*, December, 1929, pp. 369–72.

1256 A.D.; the former date is given in the earliest inscription of his reign,[1] and the latter is assigned to him in a manuscript written in his reign.[2] Then came Tejasimha, whose known records range from 1260 A.D.[3] to 1267 A.D.[4] The reign of his son and successor, Samarasimha, approximately covers the period from 1273 A.D.[5] to 1301 A.D.[6]

During this period there were numerous conflicts between the Guhilot princes and the Sultans of Delhi.

We have clear records of two direct struggles between the two parties during the reign of Jaitrasimha. Our authorities for the account of these struggles are, firstly, the Chirwa inscription of Samarasimha dated 1273 A.D., secondly, the Abu Stone inscription of Samarasimha dated in 1285 A.D.,[7] thirdly, a drama entitled '*Hammira-mada-mardanam*' composed by Jayasimha Suri which was probably written between 1219 A.D. and 1229 A.D.,[8] and fourthly, Firishta's history.[9] It will be seen, therefore, that all the sources of our information with the exception of Firishta are contemporary.

The first conflict must have taken place before 1229 A.D., as the drama '*Hammira-mada-mardanam*' refers to it and 1229 A.D. is, as we have seen, the last date that can be assigned to its composition. The third Act of the drama gives the following story: King Viradhavala of Gujarat is anxious to get the news about *Hammira* [10] (that is, Amir or Sultan of Delhi) who was to begin hostilities against the Mewar King Jayatala (that is, Jaitrasimha) who, priding himself on the strength of his own sword, had not joined him (that is, Viradhavala). Then enters the spy Kamalaka, who relates how the

[1] Ekalinga Stone Inscription, dated in V.S. 1270. *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, p. 96.

[2] *Paksika-Vṛtti*. G. H. Ojha, *History of Rajputana* (*in Hindi*), Vol. II, p. 471.

[3] MS. of *Sravaka-pratikramana-sutra-curni*. Peterson, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 23.

[4] Chitor Stone Inscription, dated in V.S. 1324. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 46-7.

[5] Chirwa Stone Inscription, dated in V.S. 1330. *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1907, pp. 142–62.

[6] Chitor Stone Inscription, dated in V.S. 1358. *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1921, p. 1. An inscription of Samarasimha's son and successor, Ratnasimha, is dated in V.S. 1359 (c. 1302 A.D.). *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1927, p. 3.

[7] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345–58.

[8] Edited by C. D. Dalal in *Gaekwad Oriental Series*.

[9] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 238.

[10] *Hammira* or *Hamvira* is a corruption of the Arabic word *Amir*. From the time of Muhammad of Ghur to the reign of Balban this epithet in various forms occurs as the regular designation of the Sultans of Delhi in their coins and inscriptions. See Wright's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. II, pp. 17–33, and H. C. Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 681-2.

whole of Mewar was burnt by the soldiers of the enemy and how the people were filled with dismay by the entrance of ruthless '*mlechchha*' warriors into the capital and how the people through terror preferred to die at their own hands. Kamalaka further says that he, being unable to bear the sight, declared that Viradhavala was coming to save the people; hearing this the *Turushka* warriors were seized with panic and fled away.

It is clear from this narrative that the Moslem army entered Mewar, devastated a part of the same and even occupied the capital. It is perhaps with reference to this expedition that the Chirwa inscription says: 'In the war with the soldiers of the Sultan the city of Nagda [1] was destroyed and the Governor of that fort was killed in a battle which took place at Untala, a village near Nagda'. But the initial advantages of the enemies did not prove lasting and soon they had to take recourse to flight. Kamalaka no doubt represents the brave repute of his own king as the factor that inspired terror in their heart; but we may be sure that this is merely a device of the author to secure his own advance in royal favour.[2] We may believe that it was Jaitrasimha who opposed the enemies of his country and defeated them. The Chirwa inscription implies this by saying that even the Sultan could not humble him, and we read in the Abu Stone inscription that he was 'the sage Agastya of the Ocean-like armies of the Turushkas'.

Who was this Sultan of Delhi who fought against Jaitrasimha but failed to humble him? Our authorities do not give his name. The Chirwa inscription calls him '*Suratrāna*' and the '*Hammira-mada-mardanam*' refers to him as '*Milachhikāra*'. The second designation may give us a clue to the name. Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha [3] points out that the term '*Milacchikāra*' seems to be a Sanskritized form of the word '*Amir-i-shikār*'. We gather from the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* [4] that Qutbuddin had conferred this title upon Iltutmish. Iltutmish was a contemporary of Jaitrasimha and his reign covered the period from 1211 A.D. to 1236 A.D. It is quite probable, therefore, that he was the '*Milacchikāra*' who had carried an expedition into Mewar before 1229 A.D. The Muhammadan

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[1] This was the capital of the Guhilots at that time.

[2] 'In this account Jayasimha characteristically gives all the credit to Viradhavala, the generous patron of his religion, and does not even mention 'Rai Karan' who, according to the Muslim writers, was the real leader of these campaigns'. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1021.

[3] *History of Rajputana* (*in Hindi*), Vol. II, p. 467. 'Dr. Barnett considers the identification as very improbable'. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1021.

[4] Raverty, pp. 603-4.

writers do not refer to this expedition; but that seems to be no sufficient justification for disbelieving the contemporary accounts referred to above. The devout Muslims might be unwilling to suppress the story of the defeat of the Sultan at the hands of a petty prince. Whatever the explanation of the silence of the Muslim historians may be, an '*argumentum ex silentio*' is unacceptable in the face of contemporary statements to the contrary.

The second incursion of the Muhammadans into Mewar took place probably about the close of Jaitrasimha's reign. Firishta[1] says, 'In 1247, Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud recalled his brother Jalaluddin from his government of Kanouj to Delhi, but, apprehensive of a design against his life, he fled to the hills of Chitor with all his adherents. The king pursued him; but, finding after eight months that he could not secure him, returned to Delhi'. This story is vaguely worded, and does not tell us whether Nasiruddin Mahmud came into direct conflict with the Guhilot prince. Firishta's account is not confirmed by any other Hindu or Muhammadan writer.

Firishta[2] mentions a third struggle. During the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud, on the revolt of Qutlugh Khan, Governor of Oudh, the *Wazir* Ulugh Khan marched against him, but he escaped to Chitor. The *Wazir* destroyed the fort, but, being unable to find Qutlugh Khan, returned to Delhi. No other Muhammadan or Hindu account knows anything about it. If the Sultan's army had really destroyed the fort of Chitor, there is no reason why the Muhammadan writers should be silent over it. It again appears to be somewhat improbable that no Rajput chronicle should mention this alleged destruction of their fort. Why, again, should the Guhilots give shelter to a revolted relative of the Sultan and invite new troubles?

The next ruler of Mewar is Tejasimha. He must have reigned between 1256 A.D., the last known date of Jaitrasimha, and 1273 A.D., the first known date of Samarasimha, and for Tejasimha we have records ranging from 1260 A.D. to 1267 A.D. Muhammadan writers do not mention any expedition into Mewar during this period. It is probable, therefore, that there was no struggle between the Guhilots and the Sultans of Delhi during his reign.

During Samarasimha's reign there were two struggles again.

We read in the Abu Stone Inscription of 1285 A.D. that the 'munificent Samara .... the leader of kings, ... rescued, in an instant, the submerged land of Gurjara from the

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[1] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 238.
[2] Briggs, Vol. I.

Ocean-like Turushkas'. This apparently refers to an expedition of the Moslems against Gujarat in which he acted as the friend and saviour of that country. Here we find an important instance of the geographical and strategical significance of the position of Mewar. This trial of strength must have taken place early in his reign—before 1285 A.D. This must have happened during the reign of Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266 A.D.–1287 A.D.). Neither Moslem writers nor Gujarat inscriptions or literary works mention any contest in Gujarat during this period; but the testimony of the contemporary inscription cannot be discarded. The ruler of Gujarat at this time was Sarangadeva who reigned from 1275 A.D. to 1295 A.D

The second clash with the Sultan's army came at the close of Samarasimha's reign. The account of this struggle is given in a Jain manuscript named '*Tirthakalpa*' written by Jinaprabha. From the Moslem point of view, however, there is no mention of this incident. The above work informs us that in 1299 A.D. Alauddin Khalji sent his younger brother, Ulugh Khan, against Gujarat. On the way Samarasimha saved Mewar by doing homage to him. Mewar records claim victory for the Rajputs. Here again the geographical and strategical importance of Mewar as covering the route to Gujarat explains the political events. We have an echo of this event in the Ranpur inscription of 1439 A.D.[1] which tells us that Bhuvanasimha was 'the conqueror of Sri Allavaddina Sultan'. Bhuvanasimha belonged to a junior branch of the ruling family of Mewar and was contemporary with Samarasimha. It was not possible for him to fight independently with Alauddin's army and win a victory. It is easy to see that he fought in the train of his overlord and relative Samarasimha. This appears to be the only possible explanation of the statement in the inscription whose veracity we have no reason to deny.

We have seen, then, that the thirteenth century was an era of continued conflicts between the Sultans of Delhi and the princes of Mewar. The climax was reached in 1303 A.D. when Alauddin occupied the fort of Chitor and placed his son, Khizir Khan, as its Governor.

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[1] *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, p. 115.

IMPERIALISM OF SULTAN BAHĀDUR OF GUJARAT

By M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN

Sultan Bahādur who ascended the throne in 1526 and reigned for about eleven years was one of the most distinguished rulers of Gujarat. His struggle with Humāyūn Pādshah of Delhi is well known to the students of Indian History. But it seems that its real significance has not been clearly grasped as yet. The reason is obvious. The fascinating story of the more successful struggle of Sher Khan has completely cast into the shade the similar attempt of his less fortunate contemporary to seize the Imperial crown of Hindustān. As a matter of fact, the most important events of the earlier part of Humāyūn's reign were his contests with the Afghans under Sher Khan and Sultan Bahādur of Gujarat for the preservation of the throne which had been won by his father. A well-known authority has denied any imperial pretension on the part of Sultan Bahādur. But our evidence does not warrant any such assertion. That the ruler of Gujarat aimed at the throne of Delhi is made amply clear by Abu'l Faḍl who says that Bahādur 'was entertaining wild projects' and further remarks that 'it is not unknown to the circumspect that Sultan Bahādur was ever engaged in high-flying imaginings, and was always holding in his palate the bruised thorn of evil wishes'.[1]

It is interesting to note that there was going throughout the earlier half of the sixteenth century a scramble for the Empire of Delhi. The time was opportune. Confusion prevailed everywhere in North India. There was no stable government at the centre. Mutual rivalry and jealousy were the order of the day. Hallowed by memories of the past the strongest of the rulers were engaged in imposing their will upon others, and, in giving their attempts the semblence of legitimacy, tried to seize Delhi and Agra, the political capital of Hindustān. Among the chief actors in the drama of contests for the throne of Hindustān may be mentioned the names of Rana Sanga, the ruler of Mewar, the descendants of Bahlul Ludi, like Mahmud, 'Alāuddin and others; the Timurid, Emperor Babur and his immediate descendants, Sher Khan of Bihar and his sons and even Himu the Baqqāl. It is but natural that the Sultan of Gujarat should also make a bid for the imperial throne. Nor was he unfit for such an attempt.

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[1] Akbarnama, trs. by Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 293; Text, Vol. I, p. 126.

Bahādur ruled over one of the richest provinces of India. The kingdom of Gujarat has an extensive coast line and its inhabitants from very early times were engaged in sea-borne trade and largely augmented the wealth of their country. The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* says: 'Delhi relies on its wheat and millets for revenue, while Gujarat counts upon the corals and pearls'.

Soon after his accession to the throne Bahādur launched in a career of conquest and aggrandisement. The earliest year of his reign was spent up in consolidating his position in his own kingdom. Thereafter he effectively interfered in Deccan politics. 'Alāuddin Imad Shah of Berar and Muhammad of Khandesh were dependent allies of the king of Gujarat. The Rathor Raja of Baglana did him homage. Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar was compelled to agree to a humiliating peace and the *Khutba* was caused to be recited in his dominion in the name of Bahādur. On the eastern frontier of his dominion Bahādur led several expeditions against the Kings of Banswara and Dungarpur who submitted to him and acknowledged his over-lordship. In 1531 Malwa was also annexed to Gujarat and after the suppression of Silhadi of Raisen all the important forts in Malwa were occupied by the nobles of Gujarat. In 1534 Chitor fell and shortly before this Nagore, Ajmeer and Ranthambhor were also annexed. It would thus be seen that the Sultan of Gujarat ruled over an extensive kingdom in Western India and the eastern boundary of his kingdom ran within a short distance of the Mughal dominions. As a matter of fact the conquest of Chitor, Ranthambhor, Ajmeer and other places in Rajputana and the capture of Raisin, Bhilsa and Sarangpur in Malwa may be regarded as stepping stone to the throne of Delhi.[1]

Bahādur indeed maintained cordial relations with the Mughals at first and exchanged several friendly letters with Humāyūn. This cautious policy was dictated by the military superiority of the Mughals. Abu'l Faḍl says that the ruler of Gujarat 'had seen with the eye of warning a specimen of His Majesty Gītīsitānī Firdaus Mākanī's way of fightings in the campaign against Sultan Ibrahim; he could not bring himself for any consideration to resolve on encountering the victorious soldier of that illustrious family'. Elsewhere Bahādur is represented as having said 'I have been witness of the superiority of the splendid soldier; the Gujarat army is no match for them, so I shall by craft and contrivance win over his (Humāyūn's) army to myself'.[2]

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[1] See Cambridge History of India, Vol. III for details.

[2] Akbarnama, Vol. I, p. 294.

Haji Dabir represents Bahādur as telling Tatār Khan that he had seen the prowess of the Mughals under Babur and that the Indians and the Mughals would be like glass and stone, whichever strikes, it is the glass that is broken.[1]

The military strength of Gujarat, however, was not a negligible factor. The army at the head of which Bahādur marched against Nizam-ul-Mulk of Ahmadnagar consisted of 10,000 horsemen and 900 fighting elephants. At the time of his return from the Deccan a great number of men of the Deccan followed him with the desire of entering his service. On calculation it was found that there numbered about 12,000 horsemen. At the time of the seize of Chitor, says the author of the *Tarikh-i-Bahādurshahi,* the Sultan had sufficient men and siege apparatus to have besieged four such places as Chitor.[2]

Abu'l Faḍl says that by opening doors of his treasures, Sultan Bahādur gained over as many as 10,000 men from the side of Humāyūn.[3] Firishta observes that Bahādur had collected a large train of artillery and it was preferable to any in India owing to the excellent Portuguese guns which were captured at Diu.[4] Besides in Rumi Khan, Bahādur had the most efficient artillery man in India. This vast military preparation was obviously directed by Bahādur against the Mughal Emperor.

Bahādur's preparations went even further. He opened the gates of his kingdom as a political asylum to call those persons who were discontented with the Mughal rule. It will thus be seen that the Afghans and the discontented nobles from the Mughal Courts took shelter in Gujarat. Most prominent among the Afghans were Sultan 'Alāuddin, brothers of Sikandar Lodi, and his son Tatār Khan and Fath Khan, Qutb Khan and Umar Khan who were relations of Bahlul Lodi.[5] The most notable among the fugitives from the Mughal Court was Muhammad Zaman Mirza, a near relative of Humāyūn, who twice conspired against the Mughal Emperor. Jam Firoz, king of Sind, who was defeated by the Mughals, also came and saught refuge with the Sultan of Gujarat, and gave his daughter in marriage to him.[6]

When Muhammad Zaman reached Gujarat, Bahādur told Tatār Khan that he was prepared to attack the Emperor of Delhi

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1 An Arabic History of Gujarat, Ed. by Sir E. D. Ross, p. 229.
2 Local Muhammadan Questions of Gujarat by Bayley, pp. 341, 343, 371.
3 Akbarnama, Vol. I, p. 294.
4 Rise of Muhammadan Power in India, Vol. IV, p. 127.
5 Briggs, IV, p. 112; Bayley, 343, 347, 369.
6 Arabic History of Gujarat, Ed. by Sir E. D. Ross, Vol. I, p. 226.

and gave orders to Tatār Khan to collect men.[1] It was on the question of surrender or expulsion of Muhammad Zaman Mirza that Bahādur came into direct conflict with Humāyūn. Firishta observes that 'Bahādur Shah who was crowned with success in every quarter, and was inflated with pride on having reduced Mandu and other places, did not hesitate to show his contempt for Humāyūn, by bringing Muhammad Zaman there to public notice and by granting him honours. He also encouraged 'Alāuddin, son of Bahlul Lodi, to make an attempt on the throne of Delhi. To this end Sultan Bahādur conferred on Tatār Khan, the son of 'Alāuddin, the command of 40,000 men to march against Humāyūn'.[2]

Sultan 'Alāuddin himself was sent with a large force towards Kalinjar in order to stir up disturbance in that quarter, and Burhan-ul-Mulk Bayani was sent at the head of a body of Gujaratis to Nagore in order to make an attempt on the Panjab. Bahādur divided his army with the idea that the imperial army would thereby be thrown into confusion. He himself went for a second time to invest Chitor. The desired result however could not be achieved. Tatār Khan, after having successfully seized Bayana, was cut to pieces with his army because of his rashness.[3] The other generals also suffered discomfiture here. In the meantime Humāyūn advanced with an army to Malwa while Bahādur was still continuing the seize of Chitor. The Mughal Emperor refused to attack a brother in faith while he was engaged in fighting the infidels.

When Humāyūn advanced to Malwa, Bahādur called in a council of war, and it was submitted by some that it would be better to raise the siege and march against Humāyūn and strike a decisive blow at once.[4] But Sadar Khan prevailed upon the Sultan to finish the siege of Chitor at first. Firishta says: 'The king of Gujarat under an infatuation equally preposterous and impolitic', continued the siege of Chitor.

After the capitulation of Chitor, Bahādur wanted to measure his strength with Humāyūn. Sadar Khan advised an immediate attack on the Mughals because the Gujarat army was flushed with the victory they had lately won at Chitor. But the Sultan listening to the advice of Rumi Khan adopted the tactics of the Sultan of Rum and made a rampart round his camp with carts and guns. It was urged that if the enemy attacked, such fire might be opened upon the assailants 'as would shatter them even if they were rocks

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[1] Arabic History of Gujarat, Ed. by Sir E. D. Ross, Vol. I, pp. 229-30.
[2] Briggs, II, p. 74.
[3] Bayley, p. 382.
[4] Briggs, II, p. 75.

of iron'. The *Amirs* remonstrated that they were not accustomed with this mode of fighting. The Sultan, however, would not listen.[1] Rumi Khan played the part of a traitor. He was dissatisfied with not getting the Governorship of Chitor which had been recently conquered. He therefore opened negotiations with Humāyūn and revealed to him the plan of the Gujarat camp and asked Humāyūn to cut off the supply of food which was done. Very soon scarcity and famine broke out in the camp of Gujarat and 'the men were in the extremity—and the Sultan was bewildered'. Rumi Khan himself fled to Emperor Humāyūn. Bahādur now saw that all had been lost and fled towards Mandu from which he was shortly after turned out and his dominion was overrun by the Mughals. Thus with the flight of Bahādur his dream of an Empire vanished.

It may be noted in conclusion that the army of Humāyūn and of Bahādur remained in face to face for a long time and no decisive engagements took place. It does not seem probable that the Mughal army was much superior to the Gujarats. It was not the military superiority of the Mughals that crushed Sultan Bahādur. The causes which contributed to his fall were ill-advised plan to allow Humāyūn to occupy Malwa, the continuation of the siege of Chitor, the rejection of the wise advice of Sadar Khan, the treachery of Rumi Khan and the rashness of Tatār Khan. It is idle to guess whether Bahādur would have at all triumphed over Humāyūn. But it might be seen that the danger that faced the Mughal Emperor in the west was not a whit less than the peril which threatened him from the east.

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[1] Bayley, pp. 384-85, and An Arabic History of Gujarat, Edited by Sir E. D. Ross, p. 240.

REALITY OF FICTION IN HINDU THOUGHT

By BETTY HEIMANN

In Ṛgvedic Texts different kinds of sacrifice are regarded as equally effective. Beside the actual concrete substances of animal- and vegetable-oblations the less concrete offerings of hymns (ukthas, stomas, brahmas and dhī, the concentrated thought of veneration) are strengthening powers (vardhayante), food as it were, to enable the gods for making their efforts of bestowing the desired gifts in return. The very thought, a less or, in the Western sense, a non-substantial offering, is equally certain to get its wanted result as the coarse matter of sacrifice. Thought and its expression, both are actions which duly attract their reactions; they develop into more concerete form. Just so teach Chāndogya-upaniṣad and Bhagavadgītā that sacrifices (yajñas) are the function of breathing, the activity of the sense-organs, etc. Thought, intent, and perception are poured-out energy which consequently materialise.

Manas, mind, is not only built up from material food, but its activity, too, is transformed concrete substance (e.g. Chānd.Up. 6, 5, 1ff.). Buddhi, intellect, is, according to the Sāṁkhya system, not an emanation of Spirit, Puruṣa, as we may expect, but of Prakṛti, primeval Matter, like manas and the sense organs and even 'ahaṁkāra', the principle of distinctive consciousness.

Buddhistic Karma-theory accordingly emphasizes that not only action but intention and mere thought as well create 'karma-bīja', karma-seed, which grows and develops into karma-fruit.

The goddess Vāc, Speech, is an all-powerful Hindu deity, creative and actually effective. Each word, e.g. a curse, once uttered, gets inevitably its due result and even a repentant speaker cannot simply revoke it, but it works quasi-mechanically as soon as it is put into being and can only be counteracted by a second efficient saying (this provides for instance the plot of Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā).

The 'māhātmayam', authority, of the word is an acknowledged fact in Hindu logic. Vyāsa on Yogasūtras 9 defines accordingly 'vikalpa', fiction, as a reality based on the efficient power of speech and as such 'vikalpa' is a truth in itself; lying beyond the range of empirical tests, it cannot be contradicted by them. It is noteworthy that the very term 'vikalpa', fiction, just as its Latin counterpart 'fictio' (from 'fingere') designates not a creation out of nothing, but

a special kind of fashioning of given matter, 'fictio' and 'vikalpa' having the task of sculpturing, reshaping, transforming given factors or facts.

This fundamental acknowledgment of the word as real in the ontological and logical sense is mirrored in Hindu lawbooks; verbal insult is almost as severely punished as bodily injury.

Whatever can be thought is *eo ipso* real and effective. Poetry and fairy tales are for the Indian accordingly of far greater importance than with us in the West. The authority of mythology and legends is accepted as guide for practical conduct as well as for religious needs. Lawbooks contain extensive chapters bearing on mere fiction and these, too, are considered an adequate information like empirical facts. Poetical similes are taken as matter of evidence—about this more in detail in the last part of our study.

Indian historical texts (e.g. Rājataraṅgiṇī) introduce mere mythology and actual facts side by side.

What is at the bottom of this strange intermixture of actual and potential reality, of fact and fiction?

The observation of the quick change of each single empirical form in a tropical nature, such as India's, leads to two possible conclusions. Either all actual shape, too, is assumed as not definitely real, while not constant in its form; this course is taken by the Śūnyavādin-schools which, however, are less predominant in Indian thought than is generally accepted in the West. Or—and this more often—the second alternative is taken. Not only the present form at hand is considered real, but all shape and condition which can be visualized, though accidentally not yet realized, is a possible potentiality. The observation of the changes of things and the ever-varying conditions of each object give scope to the assumption of ever new combinations of things as a whole and their single parts. This holds good as well for space as for time.

The various disciplines of Indian art get their inspiration from this assumed vast range of possibilities. Indian rhetoric is abundant in establishing all kinds of metaphors from the very idea of interconnection of things and functions. Similarity is recognized on the ground of proved changeability and deduced interchangeability. Śleṣas, twisted meanings, are assumed to connect divergent things. The notion that nothing is ever constant and fixed to immutable limits gives rise to all possibilities of assumed similarity, influence and identification of divergent objects. An unrestricted capacity for combination and permutation of things as a whole and of their parts is the further deduction.

Indian religious Texts and their later illustration in plastic art are based on this presupposition.

Nature produces human animal form indiscriminately. Accordingly, the Indian dogma of reincarnation and the Buddhist concepts of Jātakas are established. It is but a further step to visualize that all divergent empirical shapes are interconnected in time in a series of reincorporations and, in a kind of acceleration of the sequence, they are assumed not only near in space but so close that they can fall together in one and the same actual body. Thus Viṣṇuitic theory speaks not only of a series of avatāras of intermixed human and animal form, but also of a combined human and animal frame: Viṣṇu Nara-siṁha. In the same manner is Śiva venerated in a half male, half female form as Ardhanārīśvara and Gaṇeśa as shaped partly as elephant and partly as man. The side-by-side view is taken to its last consequence. The multiplication of heads and limbs in the representation of Hinduistic and Buddhistic deities is yet another expression of this idea of acceleration and approximation. The falling-together of divergent forms in one empirical shape is a kind of anticipation of the assumed final falling-together of all form in Brahman or Nirvāṇa.

All these aspects are not world-remote and world-contradictory abstractions, but last consequences of actual observations of the tropical quickness of change and abundant fullness of form of a dynamically productive Nature.

Fiction is a reshaping, an over-emphasizing of actual impressions.

The human imagination provides a super-empirical acceleration and accumulation of empirical facts. It brings out latent capacities of the existent matter.

But does not Indian logic propagate a concept of unreality and illusion? The philosophical idea of abhāva, non-existence, is not a contradiction of reality of being but the due counterpart of existence, bhāva. Indian logic and theory of perception acknowledges the reality of fiction in its investigation of abhāva. It asserts that abhāva is real and empirically to be proved just as bhāva. Abhāva can be perceived like bhāva in a positive operation; the perception of the non-pot is a realizable act like the perception of the pot.

Māyā, the so-called illusion, on the other hand, is, as I tried to prove elsewhere (cf. my 'Indian and Western Philosophy', pp. 49ff.; 94f., etc.) an empirical reality as contrasted with the transcendental reality of the Indefinite. Illusion exists only from the transcendental aspect. In the world of actual reality there is no illusion. The very Māyā-theory is the emphatic assertion of the double aspect of reality: the definite and the indefinite one. Illusion is given only in so far that we wrongly assume a constancy and unchangeability of form. Illusion is to overlook the fact of the vast range of latent possibilities by accepting merely definite form as final. The concept

of Māyā, on the contrary, gives scope to the dogma of reality of fiction which is based on the idea of the relativity of all definite form. Fiction is anticipation of the transcendental reality already in this empirical stage.

From the background of all these preliminary expositions let us now consider those similes bearing on so-called unreality and illusion.

In the first place, there is a basic concrete outlook in the fact that Indian logic puts forward similes, being in themselves fiction, as matter of evidence, as corroboration of facts gained from empirical observations and dogmas deduced from them.

Secondly, the very similes which supply the nihilistic schools with their proofs of postulated unreality are turned back on them by their opponents and are convincingly interpreted as positive in contents from yet another angle. Moreover, most of these so-called similes of illusion are not introduced at all for proving ontological impossibilities but merely for pointing out logical inexpediency.

A few examples hereof may be given and with preference to those which sound strange to the West. A more extensive collection can be found in the thesis of a student of mine Dorothy Stede, ('the concrete Expression of abstract Ideas in Hindu Thought') which will be shortly published.

'Whispering in a deaf man's ear'; 'the use of a looking glass for a blind man',—both are possible, but unsuitable actions. 'Putting shoes on feet already shod'—is an illustration of an imaginable, but unpracticable function. 'Using a lamp for hearing sounds'—a complete absurdity for Western thought, but not quite so for India's earlier notion of ambiguity of words which bear on sense-perception, think of terms like cakṣ: to see and speak; and 'varṇa': colour and sound. 'Putting shoes on your neck'—an absurdity, if not an expression for the relativity of direction, of up and below. All these actions are possible and real, but not suitable while being out of place, or out of time for the moment given.

'Seeking for a donkey's, a mouse's, a man's, a horse's horn' or 'a tortoise's hair' is either—biologically—seeking for a latent, though not perceivable capacity or, logically, a too far driven analogy and an application of qualities found with other beings of the same genus: animal. They are playing on the vast range of possibilities and on the assumed interconnection of all things, but they mark the limits of practical usefulness. In the same manner is 'the lotus in the sky' a possible analogy, though not actually to be tested.

Other sophisms of Indian logic are derived from the fundamental idea of ever possible change of things and their specific conditions. The Jainiast logic has established the dogma of 'syādvāda', enumera-

tion of all possible conditions of a thing with reference to itself and to other beings. Logical similes, like 'examination of a thief after all stolen gold is already found on his body' illustrate the fact that what is appropriate for one moment is no more adequate for the next; anticipation, of future stages, on the other hand, is mirrored in similes like 'the partition of the iguana's flesh before it is hunted'. Logical possibility, but ontological impossibility, is reflected in similes like 'a half-cooked and a half-living hen', or 'a half-young and a half-old woman' or 'a dead man coming into life'—these absurdities for Western thought are not complete impossibilities for the Indian mind which sees things in their sequence of change; it becomes actually impossible through anticipation of future conditions already for the present moment.

The last consequence of the fundamental concept of the non-constancy of every thing leads to a hypothetical removing of even the constancy of its essential quality: 'the germinating stone', 'the cold fire', 'the son of the barren woman' are examples for this tendency.

Similarity drawn to its last consequence of complete identification may prove itself erroneous for empirical perception; 'mother of pearl taken as silver', 'a rope as a snake' and 'a post as a man' are not exactly irrealities, but mistakes of perception caused by deficiency of our sense-organs or overquickness of judgment or arisen under the influence of the emotion of greediness or fear respectively. But it is noteworthy that even some Vedānta-schools are ready to acknowledge that this so-called illusion is a positive act of recognition of one, resp. two formerly known existent objects, and as such of relative reality.

As to the kind of similes like 'giving instruction for obtaining the crest-jewel of the sage Takṣaka as a febrifuge', there must be said that, though they would fall for the Western thinker under the range of impossibility, they are for the Indian a possible fact because of the positive valuation of the teachings of mythology (see above).

And now for a last group of similes of so-called impossibilities: 'Swimming on land', 'painting without canvas', 'illuminating a solid rock by a lamp' or 'reaching with the fist up to the sky' all these are definite impossibilities for all average men, but here, too, Indian belief finds a way for positive interpretation: the superhuman power of a yogin enables him to do such deeds. In surveying all the various disciplines of thought we have to acknowledge that the Indian frame of mind is by far more elastic than the Western and brings thereby to our notice possibilities from which our Western restricted trend of thinking has debarred itself.

THE COMING TO BIRTH OF THE SPIRIT

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

'You cannot dip your feet twice into the same waters, because fresh waters are ever flowing in upon you.' (*Heracleitus.*)

The present article embodies a part of the material which I have assembled during recent years towards a critical analysis of the Indian, and incidentally neo-Platonic and other doctrines of 'reincarnation', regeneration, and transmigration, as these terms are defined below.[1] These doctrines, often treated as one, appear to have been more profoundly misunderstood, if that is possible, than any other aspect of Indian metaphysics. The theses that will be proposed are that the Indian doctrine of palingenesis is correctly expressed by the Buddhist statement that in 'reincarnation' *nothing*[2] passes over from one embodiment to another, the continuity being only such as can be seen when one lamp is lighted from another: that the terms employed for 'rebirth' (e.g. *punar janma, punar bhava, punar apādana*) are used in at least three easily distinguishable senses: (1) with respect to the transmission of physical and psychic characteristics from father to son, i.e. with respect to palingenesis in a biological sense, defined by Webster as 'The reproduction of ancestral characters without change',[3] (2) with respect to a transition

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[1] See also my 'Vedic Exemplarism', HJAS., I, 1936 and 'Rebirth and Omniscience in Pali Buddhism', Indian Culture, III, p. 19f. and p. 760; and René Guénon, *L'Erreur spirite,* Paris, 1390, Ch. VI.

[2] Mil. 72, *na koci satto,* 'not any being'. Note that this expression is by no means necessarily exclusive of the Ātman as defined in the Upanisads by negation, of Basilides' οὐκ ὢν θεός, Erivgena's God who 'is not any what', Eckhart's 'non-existent' Godhead, Behmen's God who is 'no thing'.

[3] In a number of important texts, rebirth is explicitly and categorically defined in terms of heredity, and this is probably the only sense in which the individual is thought of as returning to the plane of being from which he departs at death. It is expressly stated of the deceased that he is not seen again here (SB., XIII, 8. 4. 12, *etaj jīvā's ca pitaraś ca na saṁdrśyante,* and SB. passim, *sakṛd parāñcah pitaraḥ*).

We have now RV., VI, 70. 3. 'He is born forth in his progeny according to law' (*pra prajābhir jāyate dharmanas pari*); AB., VII, 13, 'The father enter the wife, the mother, becoming an embryo, and coming into being anew, is born again of her' (*jāyām praviśati, garbho bhūtvā, sa mātaram, tasyām punar navo bhūtvā jāyate,* cf. AV., XI, 4. 20); AA., II, 5 'In that he both before and after birth maketh the son to become (*kumāram ... adhibhāvayati*), it is just himself as son that he maketh to become' (*sa yat kumāram ... adhibhāvayaty ātmānam eva*); CU., III, 17. 5, 'That he has procreated, *that* is his rebirth' *aṣoṣṭēti punar-utpādanam*); BU., III, 9. 28,

from one to another plane of consciousness effected in one and the same individual and generally one and the same life, viz. that kind of rebirth which is implied in the saying 'Except ye be born again' and of which the ultimate term is deification,[1] and (3) with respect to the motion or peregrination of the Spirit from one body-and-soul to another, which 'motion'[2] necessarily takes place whenever one such a compound vehicle dies or another is generated, just as water might be poured out of one vessel into the sea, and dipped out by another, being always 'water', but never, except in so far as the vessel seems to impose a temporary identity and shape on its contents, properly 'a water'; and thirdly, that no other doctrines of rebirth are taught in the Upaniṣads and Bhagavad Gītā than are already explicit and implicit in the Rigveda.

'Spirit' we employ in the present introduction with reference to *ātman, brahman, mṛtyu, puruṣa,* etc., alike, but in the body of the article only as a rendering of *ātman,* assuming as usual a derivation from a root *an* or *vā* meaning to breathe or blow. But because the Spirit is really the whole of Being in all beings, which have no private essence but only a becoming, *ātman* is also used reflexively to mean

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'He (the deceased) has indeed been born, but he is not born again, for (being deceased) who is there to beget him again?' (*jāta eva na jāyate, ko nv enaṁ janayet punaḥ*). We have also BU., II, 2. 8 where filiation is rebirth 'in a likeness' (*pratirūpah*). It would be impossible to have a clearer definition of the ordinary meaning of 'reincarnation'. This filial reincarnation is moreover precisely the ἀνταποκατάστασις or 'renewal of things by substitution' of Hermes, as explained by Scott (*Hermetica,* II, 322), 'The father lives again in his son; and though the individuals die and return no more, the race is perpetually renewed'.

It should be added that beside the natural fact of progenitive reincarnation there is also a formal communication and delegation of the father's nature and status in the world, made when the father is at the point of death. Thus in BU., I, 5. 17–20, when this 'All bequest' (*sampratti*) has been made, 'the son who has been thus induced (*anuśiṣṭaḥ*) is called the father's "mundane-representative"' (*lokyaḥ*), and so 'by means of the son the father is still-present-in (*prati-tiṣṭhati*) the world': and similarly in Kaus., II, 15 (10) where the 'All-bequest of the father to the son' (*pitāputrīyaṁ sampradānam*) is described in greater detail, after which bequest if perchance the father should recover, he must either live under the lordship of the son or become a wandering religious (*parivāvrajet,* i.e. become a *parivrājaka* dead to the world at least in outward form).

[1] Cf. my 'Indian doctrine of man's Last End', *Asia,* May 1937.

[2] 'Motion', not a local motion, but an omni*presence,* and as we speak, although metaphorically, of a 'procession' *in divinis.* Not a local motion, but that of the Unmoved Mover, 'Motionless One, swifter than thought itself . . . who outgoeth others though they run' (Īśā., 4), 'Seated, He fares afar; reclining, goeth everywhere' (KU., II, 21), being 'Endless in all directions' (MU., VI, 17), and though 'He hath not come from anywhere' (KU., II, 18), still 'Perpetually differentiated and going everywhere' (Muṇḍ., I, 2. 6) and 'Multifariously taking birth' (*bahudhā jāyamānaḥ,* Muṇḍ, II, 2. 6).

the man himself as he conceives 'himself' (whether as body, or body-and-soul, or body-soul-and-spirit, or finally and properly only as Spirit),[1] and in such contexts we render *ātman* by 'self', or sometimes 'self, or spirit'. Capitals are employed whenever there seems to be a possibility of confusing the very Man or immanent God with the man 'himself'; but it must always be remembered that the distinction of spirit from Spirit and person from Person is 'only logical, and not real', in other words, a distinction without difference (*bhedābheda*). A sort of image of what may be implied by such a distinction (which is analogous to that of the Persons as envisaged in the Christian Trinity) can be formed if we remember that the Perfected are spoken of as 'rays' of the Supernal Sun, which rays are manifestly distinct if considered in their extension, but no less evidently indistinct if considered in their intension, i.e. at their source.

The Upaniṣads and BG.[2] are primarily concerned to bring about in the disciple a transference of self-reference, the feeling that 'I am', from oneself to the Spirit within us: and this with the purely practical purpose [3] in view of pointing out a Way (*mārga*,

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1 Where we say 'Do not hurt me', meaning the body, or 'I know', or 'my soul', the very careful teacher would say 'Do not hurt this body', 'this mind knows', and 'the Spirit in "me"' or 'Body-dweller'.

2 List of abbreviations:—

RV., *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*; TS., *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*; AV., *Atharva Veda Saṁhitā*; VS., *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*; KB., *Kausitakī Brāhmaṇa*; AB., *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*; JB., *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*; JUB., *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*; SB., *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*; PB., *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*; GB., *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*; AA., *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*; SAr., *Sāṅkhyāyana Āraṇyaka*; BU., *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*; CU., *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*; MU., *Maitri Upaniṣad*; KU., *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*; Kaus., *Kausitakī Upaniṣad*; Iśa., *Iśavasya Upaniṣad*; Muṇḍ., *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*; Mānd., *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*; Kena., *Kena Upaniṣad*; BS., *Brahma Sūtra*; BD., *Bṛhād Devatā*; BG., *Bhagavad Gītā*; Svet., *Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad*; S., *Saṁyutta Nikāya*; D., *Dīgha Nikāya*; M., *Majjhima Nikāya*; Mil., *Milinda Pañha*; J., *Jātaka*; Lib., *Libellus* (Hermes Trismegistus); Sum. Theol, *Summa Theologica*. (St. Thomas Aquinas); SBB., *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*; JAOS., *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; Taitt., *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*; SOED., *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*; JIH., *Journal of Indian History*; IC., *Indian Culture*; IHQ., *Indian Historical Quarterly*; HJAS., *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*.

3 Cf. Edgerton, 'The Upaniṣads, what do they seek and why?', JAOS., 51. 97; Dante, *Ep. ad Can. Grand.* §§15, 16. The Vedic tradition is neither philosophical, mystical, nor religious in the ordinary modern senses of these words. The tradition is metaphysical; 'mystical' only in the sense that it expounds a 'mystery', and in that of Donysius, *Theologia Mystica*. The Indian position has been admirably defined by Satkari Mookerjee: '*Of course* the question of salvation is a problem of paramount importance and constitutes the justification and ultimate *raison d'etre* of philosophical enquiry. Philosophy in India has never been a mere speculative interest irrespective

Buddhist *magga*) [1] that can be followed from darkness to light and from liability to pain and death to a state of deathless and timeless beatitude, attainable even here and now. In the Upaniṣads and early Buddhism it is clear that what had been an initiatory teaching transmitted in pupillary succession was now being openly published and in some measure adapted to the understanding of 'royal' and not merely 'sacerdotal' types of mentality, for example in BG. On the other hand, it is equally clear that there existed widespread popular misunderstandings, based either or an ignorance of the traditional doctrines or on a too literal interpretation of what had been heard of them.[2] The internal evidence of the texts themselves

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of its bearing on life ... The goal loomed large in the philosophical horizon, but it was recognized that there was no short cut or easy walk-over to it. The full price had to be paid in the shape of unfaltering philosophical *realization* of the ultimate mysteries of existence achieved through a rigorous moral discipline; and mere academic and intellectual satisfaction accruing from philosophical studies was considered to be of value only in so far as it was calculated to bring about the happy consummation' (in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, pp. 409, 410, 1937; italics mine).

[1] For the meaning of this word see my 'Nature of folklore and "popular art"' in Q.J. Myth. Soc., Bangalore, Vol. XXVII, due also to appear in IAL.

[2] We do not say that a theory of reincarnation (re-embodiment of the very man and true personality of the deceased) has never been *believed* in India or elsewhere, but agree with M. Quénon that 'it has never been *taught* in India, even by Buddhists and is essentially a modern European notion', and further 'that no authentic traditional doctrine has ever spoken of reincarnation' (*L'Erreur spirite*, pp. 47, 199).

It has been generally agreed by modern scholars that 'reincarnation' is not a Vedic doctrine, but one of popular or unknown origin adopted and taken for granted already in the Upaniṣads and Buddhism. Neglecting Buddhism for the moment, it may be pointed out that where we have to do with a fundamental and revolutionary thesis, and not the simple expansion of doctrines previously taught, it would be inconceivable from the orthodox and traditional Hindu point of view that what is not taught in one part of *śruti* could have been taught in another; in such a matter, one cannot imagine an orthodox Hindu 'choosing between' the RV. and Upaniṣads, as though one might be right and the other wrong. This difficulty disappears if we find that the theory of reincarnation (as distinguished from the doctrines of metempsychosis and transmigration) is not really taught in the Upaniṣads: in this connection we call particular attention to the statement of BU., IV, 3. 37 where, when a new entity is coming into being, the factorial elements of the new composite are made to say, *not* 'Here comes so-and-so' (previously deceased) but, 'HERE COMES BRAHMAN'. This is furthermore in full agreement with the Buddhist Mil., 72 where it is said categorically that no entity whatever passes over from one body to another, and it is merely that a new flame is lighted.

In differentiating reincarnation, as defined above, from metempsychosis and transmigration it may be added that what is meant by metempsychosis is the psychic aspect of palingenesis, or in other words psychic heredity, and that what is meant by transmigration is a change of state or level of reference excluding by definition the idea of a return to any state or level that has already been passed through. The transmigration of the 'individual' *ātman* (spirit) can only be distinguished as a

with their questions and answers, definitions and refutations, is amply sufficient to show this. Hence, then, the necessity of those innumerable dialogues in which, alike in the Upaniṣads, BG. and Buddhism, that which in 'us' is, and that which is not, the Spirit are sharply distinguished and contrasted; the Spirit being that which 'remains over' [1] when all other factors of the composite personality 'identity-and-appearance', or 'soul-and-body' have been eliminated. And furthermore, because 'That One that breathes yet does not breathe' (RV., X, 129. 2) is not any what as opposed to any other what, It or He is described simultaneously by means of affirmations and denials, *per modum excellentiae et remotionis*.[2] The following

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particular case of the transmigration of the *paramātman* (Spirit, Brahman), for which last, however, it may be proved desirable to employ some such term as 'peregrination'; peregrination replacing transmigration when the state of the *kāmācārin* (Mover-at-will) has been attained.

There are doubtless many passages in the Upaniṣads, etc., which taken out of their whole context, seem to speak of a 'personal reincarnation', and have been thus misunderstood, alike in India and in Europe. Cf. Scott, *Hermetica*, II, pp. 193-194, Note 6 ('he' in the first quoted sentence is the son of Valerius, and for our purposes 'so-and-so' or Everyman; the italics are mine): 'During his life on earth he was a distinct portion of *πνεῦμα*, marked off and divided from the rest; now, that portion of *πνεῦμα*, which was he, is blended with the whole mass of *πνεῦμα* in which the life of the universe resides. This is what the writer (Apollonius) *must* have meant, if he adhered to the doctrine laid down in the preceding part of the letter. But from this point onward, he speaks ambiguously, and uses phrases which, *to a reader who had not fully grasped the meaning of his doctrine*, might seem to imply a survival of the man as a distinct and individual person.'

The modern mind, with its attachment to 'individuality' and its 'proofs of the survival of personality' is predisposed to misinterpret the traditional texts. We ought not to read into these texts what we should like or 'naturally' expect to find in them, but only to read in them what *they* mean: but 'it is hard for us to forsake the familiar things around us, and turn back to the old home whence we came' (Hermes, *Lib.*, IV, 9).

Individuality, however we may hug its chains, is a partial and definite modality of being: 'I' is defined by what is 'not-I', and thus imprisoned. It is with a view to liberation from this prison and this partiality that our texts so repeatedly demonstrate that our vaunted individuality is neither uniformal nor constant, but composite and variable, pointing out that he is the wisest who can most say 'I am not now the man I was'. This is true in a measure of all *werdende* things; but the 'end of the road' (*adhvanaḥ pāram*) lies beyond 'manhood'. It is only of what is not individual, but universal (cosmic) that perduration can be predicated, and only of what is neither individual nor universal that an eternity, without before or after, can be affirmed.

[1] KU., V, 4 *kim atra śiṣyate*? CU., VIII, 5 *atiśiṣyate . . . ātman*. Note that *tad śiṣyate* = Seṣa = Ananta = Brahman = Ātman.

[2] We have briefly discussed the Indian doctrine *de divinis nominibus* in JIH., XV, 84–92, 1936, and will only remark here that RV., V, 44. 6 *yādṛg eva dadṛśe tādṛg ucyate*, 'As he is envisaged, so is he called' answers to St. Thomas, Sum. Theol., I, XIII.

analysis of the Supreme Identity (*tad ekam*), restricted to words derived from *an*, to 'breathe' or *vā*, to 'blow', may contribute to a better understanding of the texts:

Despirated Godhead	*avātam, nirātmā, anātmya, nirvāṇa*, Pali *nibbāṇa*. Only negative definitions are possible.
Spirit, God, Sun, 'Knower of the field': King.	*ātman*, Pali *attā*. In motion, *vāyu, vāta*, 'Gale of the Spirit'; and *prāṇa*, 'Spiration', the 'Breath of Life' as imparted, not the breath empirically, but the 'ghost' that is given up when living creatures die.[1] Being 'One and many', transcendent and immanent, although without any interstice or discontinuity, the Spirit, whether as *ātman* or as *prāṇa* can be considered in the plural (*ātmanaḥ, prāṇah*), though only 'as if'. Form, as distinguished from substance: Intellect.
What-is-not-Spirit; Moon; the Field, World, Earth: the King's domain.	*anātman*, Pali *anattā*. The hylomorphic, physical and psychic, or lower-mental, vehicle of the Spirit, seemingly differentiated by its envelopes. Mortal substance as distinguished from its informing Forms.

These are not 'philosophical' categories, but categories of experience from our point of view, *sub rationem dicendi sive intelligendi*, rather than *secundum rem*.

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[1] *Prāṇa*, like Gk. πνεῦμα has the double value of *Spiritus* and *spiraculum vitæ* according to the context. 'It is as the Breath-of-life (*prāṇa*) that the Provident Spirit (*prajnātman*) grasps and erects the flesh' (Kauṣ., III, 3), cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, III, 32. 1 'The power of the soul which is in the semen, through the spirit enclosed therein fashions the body', and Schiller, *Wallenstein*, III, 13 'Es ist der Geist der sich den Körper schart': and JUB., III, 32. 2. Whereas the divided *prāṇāh* are said to move within the vectors of channels (*naḍi, hita*) of the heart (see refs. Hume, *Upaniṣads*, ed. 2), in Hermes *Lib.*, X, 13 and 17 the 'vital spirit' (πνεῦμα) traverses the veins and arteries 'with, but not as, the blood' and thus 'moves the body, and carries it like a burden . . . (and) controls the body'.

The Prāṇa is identified with the Prajñātman: as Prāṇa, 'life', as Prajñātman, 'immortality'; length of days in this world and immortality in the other are complementary. As distinguished from the Prāṇa, the divided *prāṇāh* are the currents of perception by means of the sense organs and are prior to them. Hence as in KU., IV. 1 one says 'The Self-existent pierced the openings outward, thereby it is that one looks forth' (but must look in to see the Seer, see the discussion of this passage in JIH., XI, 571–578, 1935).

We can scarcely argue here in detail what was really meant by the palingenesis, metempsychosis, or metasomatosis of the neo-Platonic tradition.[1] We shall only remark that in such texts as Plotinus, *Enneads* III, 4. 2 (Mackenna's version), where it is said that 'Those (i.e. of 'us') that have maintained the human level are men once more. Those that have lived wholly to sense become animals . . . the spirit of the previous life pays the penalty',[2] it must be realized that it is a metempsychosis and metasomatosis (and not a transmigration of the real person) that is in question; it is a matter, in other words, of the direct or indirect inheritance of the psycho-physical characteristics of the deceased, which he does not take with him at death and which are not a part of his veritable essence, but only its temporary and most external vehicle. It is only in so far as we mistakenly identify 'ourselves' with these accidental garments of the transcendent personality, the mere properties of terrestrial human existence, that it can be said that 'we' are reincorporated in men or animals: it is not the 'spirit' that pays the penalty, but the animal or sensitive soul with which the disembodied spirit has no further concern.[3] The doctrine merely

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[1] For many references, see Scott, *Hermetica*, II, 265ff.

[2] Viz. of 'shameful transmigration into bodies of another kind', Hermes Trismegistus, *Asclepius* I, 12*a*, cf. BU., VI, 2. 16, CU., V, 10, 7-8, Kaus., I. 2. We understand that the result of a bestiality in 'us' is that bestial types are propagated: this is the reincarnation of character in our sense (1), and it is in this way that 'the sins of the fathers are visited upon their children'.

'Beasts', moreover, is a symbol, just as when we say 'Don't be a beast' or refer to some man as a 'worm' or some woman as a 'cat'. The Indian tradition regularly employs this sort of language, AA., II, 3. 8 (a *locus classicus*, cf. the definition of 'person' by Boethius, *Contra Evtychen*, II), for example, defining the spiritual man who 'knows what is and what is not mundane', etc., as a 'person' (*puruṣa*), and 'others' whose knowledge is merely an affection as 'cattle' (*paśu*).

[3] In all these discussions it must be remembered that 'soul' (*ψυχή anima* without exact equivalent in Sanskrit, other than *nāma*, the name or 'form' of a thing by which its identity is established) is a two-fold value; the higher powers of the 'soul' coinciding with Spirit (*πνεῦμα*) and/or Intellect, (*νοῦς ἡγεμών*, or *νοῦς*), the lower with sensation (*αἴσθησις*) and opinion (*νοῆσις*). Hence the Gnostic hierarchy of animal, psychic, and spiritual men, the former destined to be lost, the intermediate capable of liberation, and the latter virtually free, and assured of liberation at death (Bruce Codex, etc.). By 'lost' understand 'unmade into the cosmos' (Hermes, *Lib.*, IX, 6), and by 'liberated', wholly separated from the animal soul and thus become what the higher powers already are, divine. Render *ātman* by 'soul'. Observe that 'animal' is from *anima* = *ψυχή* 'soul', *animalia* = *ἔμψυχα*; hence Scott, *Hermetica*, I. 297 renders *Solum enim animal homo* by 'Man, and man alone of all beings that have soul'; it is by *νοῦς* and not by *ψυχή* that man is distinguished from animal (Hermes, *Lib.*, VIII, 5). It may be noted that the Averroist doctrine of the Unity of the Intellect (for which 'monopsychism' seems a peculiarly inappropriate term) was repugnant to the Christian scholastic authors of a later age,

accounts for the reappearance of psycho-physical characteristics in the mortal sphere of temporal succession. The intention of the teaching is always that a man should have recognized 'himself' in the spirit, and not in the sensitive soul, before death, failing which 'he' can only be thought of as in a measure 'lost', or at any rate disintegrated. When, on the other hand, it is said that the 'Soul' is 'self-distributed' (cf. *ātmānaṁ vibhajya*, MU., VI, 26) and 'always the same thing present entire' (*ib.*, III, 4. 6), and that this '"Soul passes through the entire heavens in forms varying with the variety of place"[1]—the sensitive form, the reasoning form, even the vegeta-

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precisely because of its incompatibility with a belief in personal immortality (cf. De Wulf, *Histoire* . . ., II, 361, 1936): on the other hand, imagination (*phantasmata*) and memory survive the death of the body not as they are in the passive intellect (Hermetic νόησις, Skr. *aśuddha manas*), but only as they are in the possible intellect (Hermetic νοῦς, Skr., *śuddha manas*) which 'is in act when it is identified with each thing as knowing it' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, 2. 67. 2c). Furthermore St. Thomas says that 'To say that the soul is of the Divine Substance involves a manifest improbability' (I, 90. 1), and Eckhart is continually speaking of the deaths and last death of the soul. It is clear at least that an immortality of the sensitive and reasoning 'soul' is out of the question, and that if the soul can in any sense be called 'immortal', it is with respect to the 'intellectual power of the soul' rather than with respect to the soul itself. Hermes' 'soul that is fastened to the body', *Lib.*, XI, 24*a*, is no conceivably immortal principle, even supposing a temporary post-mortem cohesion of certain psycho-physical elements of the *bhūtātman*; neither can we equate the 'soul' that Christ asks us to 'hate' with 'man's immortal soul'. The quest of 'the modern man in search of a soul' is a very different one from that implied in Philo's 'soul of the soul'; one may say that modern psychology and æsthetics have in view only the lower or animal soul in man, and only the subconscious. What Philo (*Quis rerum divinarum Heres*, 48, Goodenough's version, p. 378) says is that 'The word "soul" is used in two senses, with reference either to the soul as a whole or to its dominant (ἡγεμονικόν = Skr. *anataryāmin*) part, which latter is, properly speaking, the soul of the soul' (ψυχὴ ψυχῆς cf. in MU., III, 2 *bhūtātman* . . . *amṛto' syātmā* 'elemental self . . *its* deathless Self'). The value of the European 'soul' has remained ambiguous ever since.

Hence in the analysis of neo-Platonic doctrines of rebirth, and also throughout the Christian tradition from the Gospels to Eckhart and the Flemish mystics, it is indispensable to know just what 'sort of soul' is being spoken of in a given context: and in translating from Sanskrit it is exceedingly dangerous, if not invariably misleading, to render *ātman* by 'soul'.

[1] I do not know the source of this quotation; it is probably Platonic, but corresponds exactly to what is said in *Nirukta*, VII, 4, 'It is because of his great divisibility that they apply many names to Him . . . The other Gods, or Angels (*devāḥ*) are counter-members of the One Spirit. They originate in function (*karma*); Spirit (*ātman*) is their source . . . Spirit is the whole of what they are', and BD., I, 70–74 'Because of the vastness of the Spirit, a diversity of names is given . . . according to the distribution of the spheres. It is inasmuch as they are differentiations (*vibhutiḥ*, cf. BG., X, 40) that the names are innumerable . . . according to the spheres in which they are established'. Cf. MU., VI, 26 'Distributing himself He fills these worlds', and for further references my 'Vedic Monotheism' in JIH., XV, pp. 84–92, April, 1936.

tive form' (*ib.*, III, 4. 2) it is evident that it is only as it were that there is any question of 'several Souls', and that what is described is not the translation of a private personality from one body to another, but much rather the peregrination of the Spirit (*ātman*) repeatedly described in the Upaniṣads as omnimodal and omnipresent, and therefore as occupying or rather animating body after body, which or rather bodies and sensitive souls, follow one another in causally determinated series.[1]

All this is surely, too, what Eckhart (in whom the Neo-Platonic tradition persists) must mean when he says 'Aught is suspended from the divine essence; its progression (i.e. vehicle) is matter, wherein the soul puts on new forms and puts off her old ones . . . the one she doffs she dies to, and the one she dons she lives in' (Evans ed. I, 379), almost identical with BG., II, 22 'As a man casting off worn-out garments, taketh other new ones, so the Body-dweller (*dehin* = *śarīra ātman*), casting off worn-out bodies, enters into new ones', cf. BU., IV, 4. 4 'Just so this Spirit, striking down the body and driving off its nescience,[2] makes for itself some other new and fairer form'.

The three sections of Upaniṣads translated below begin with the question, 'What is most the Spirit'? That is to say, 'What is this "Self" that is not "myself"? What is this "Spirit" in "me", that is not "*my*" spirit'? It is the distinction that Philo is making in *Quaestiones . . . ad Genesis* II, 59 and *De Cherubim*, 113ff. (as cited

'Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administration, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God that worketh in all . . . The members of that body, being many, are one body' (I Cor., XII, 4–6 and 12).

1 For 'karma' (='adṛṣṭa') in Christian doctrine, cf. Augustine, *Gen. ad Lit.*, VII, 24 (cited by St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, 91. 2) 'The human body pre-existed in the previous works in their causal virtues' and *De Trin*, III, 9 'As a mother is pregnant with the unborn offspring, so the world itself is pregnant with the causes of unborn things' (cf. St. Thomas, I, 115. 2 ad 4), and St. Thomas, I. 103. 7 ad 2 'If God governed alone (and not also by means of mediate causes) things would be deprived of the perfection of causality'.

2 'Hermes' Trismegistus, *Lib.*, X, 8*b*, *κακία δὲ ψυχῆς ἀγνωσία . . . Τοὐναντίον δὲ ἀρετὴ ψυχης γνῶσις. ὅ γὰρ γνοὺς . . ἤδη θεῖος*, and XI. ii. 21 a 'But if you shut up your soul in your body, and abase yourself, and say 'I know nothing (*Οὐδὲν νοῶ*) . . .", then what have you to do with God?' *Ignorantia divisiva est errantium*, as Ulrich says in comment on Dionysius, *De div. Nom.* 'Agnostic' means 'ignoramus', or even *quis ignorare vult sive ignorantium diligit.* On the contrary, 'Think that for you too nothing is impossible' (Hermes, *Lib.*, XI, ii. 20*b*), cf. 'Nothing shall be impossible to you' (Mat., XVII, 20): 'Not till the soul knows all that there is to be known does she cross over to the unknown good' (Eckhart, Evans ed. I, 385); 'No despiration without omniscience' (SP., V, 74-75). Note that 'Hermes *Lib.*, XI, ii. 20*b*-21*a* corresponds to CU., VIII. 1.

by Goodenough, *By Light, Light*, pp. 374–375) when he distinguishes 'us' from that in us which existed before 'our' birth and will still exist when 'we, who in our junction with out bodies,[1] are mixtures (σύνκριτοι) and have qualities, shall not exist, but shall be brought into the rebirth, by which, becoming joined to immaterial things, we shall become unmixed (ἀσύνκριτοι) and without qualities'. The 'rebirth' (παλιγγενεσία) is here certainly not an 'aggregation' or palingenesis in the biological sense, but a 'regeneration' (palingenesis as a being born again of and as the Spirit of Light), cf. Goodenough, p. 376, Note 35.

'What is most the Self', or 'most the Spirit'? As the late C. E. Rolt has said in another context (*Dionysius the Areopagite on the Divine Names and Mystical Theology*, 1920, p. 35), 'Pascal has a clear-cut answer: 'Il n'y a que l'Etre universel qui soit tel . . . Le Bien Universal est en nous, est nous mêmes et n'est pas nous'. This is exactly the Dionysian doctrine. Each must enter into himself and so find Something that is his true Self and yet is not his particular self . . . Something other than his individuality which (other) is within his soul and yet outside of him'.

'If any man come to me . . . and hate not his own soul (ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν, Vulgate *animam suam*) he cannot be my disciple' (Luke, XIV, 26). The English versions shrink from such a rendering, and have 'hate not his own life'. It is evidently, however, not merely 'life' that is meant, since those who are at the same time required to 'hate' their own relatives, if, on the contrary, they love them, may be willing to sacrifice even life for their sake: what is evidently meant is the lower soul, as regularly distinguished in the neo-Platonic tradition from the higher power of the soul which is that of the Spirit and not really a property of the soul but its royal guest.[2] It is again, then, precisely from this point of view that

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[1] BG., XIII, 26 'Whatsoever is generated, whatever being (*kiṁcit sattvam*, cf. Mil. 72 *koci satto*, cited above) whether mobile or immobile, know that it is from the conjunction (*saṃyogāt*) of the Field with the Knower of the Field'. The 'Field' has been previously defined in XIII, 5-6; it embraces the whole of what we should call 'soul and body' and all that is felt or perceived by them.

[2] Cf. Plutarch, *Obsolescence of Oracles*, 436F, where the soul of man is assigned to Prophecy (ἡ μαντική here = προνοία, Providence as distinguished from 'compelling and natural causes') as its *material* support (ὕλην μεν αὐτῇ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ανθρώπου . . . ἀποδιδόντες); and BG., VI. 6 where the spirit is called the enemy of what is not the spirit (*anātmanas tu . . . ātmaiva śatruvat*).

'To be willing to lose (hate) our ψυχή must mean to forget ourselves entirely . . . to live no more my own life, but let my consciousness be possessed and suffused by the Infinite and Eternal life of the spirit' (Inge, *Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, p. 102 and James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 451).

St. Paul says with a voice of thunder, 'For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit' (Hebr., IV, 12), and consistently with this that 'Whoever is joined unto the Lord is One Spirit' (I Cor., VI, 17, cf. xii. 4–13).

With this may be compared, on the one hand, BG., VI, 6 'The Spirit is verily the foeman of and at war with what-is-not-the-Spirit' (*anātmanas tu śatrutve vartetātmaiva śatruvat*), where *anātman* = Buddhist *anattā*,[1] all that, body-and-soul, of which one says *na me so attā*, 'This is not my spirit'; and on the other, with Eckhart's 'Yet the soul must relinquish her existence' (Evans ed., I, 274),[2] and, in the anonymous *Cloud of Unknowing*, Ch. XLIV, 'All men have matter of sorrow: but most specially he feeleth sorrow, that feeleth and wotteth that he is', and with Blake's 'I will go down unto Annihilation and Eternal Death, lest the Last Judgment come and find me unannihilate, and I be seiz'd and giv'n into the hands of my own Selfhood'. All scripture, and even all wisdom, truly, 'cries aloud for freedom from self'.

But if 'he feeleth sorrow that feeleth and wotteth that he is', he who is no longer anyone, and sees, not himself, but as our texts express it, only the Spirit, one and the same in immanence and transcendence, being what he sees, *geworden was er ist,* he feels no sorrow, he is beatified,—'One ruler, inward Spirit of all beings, who maketh manifold a single form! Men contemplative, seeing Him whose station is within you, and seeing with Him,—eternal happiness is theirs, none others' (KU., V, 12).[3]

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[1] *μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος*, cf. Hermes, *Lib.*, X, 16 *ὁ νοῦς τῆς ψυχῆς* (*χωρίξεται*).

Anātman, similarly 'un-en-spired' (not 'despirated') in SB., II, 2. 2. 8 where gods and titans alike are originally 'un-en-spired' and 'mortal', and 'to be un-en-spired is the same as to be mortal' (*anātmā hi martyaḥ*); Agni alone is 'immortal' (*amartyaḥ*).

[2] Compare the expressions used by St. Bernard, *deficere a se tota* and *a semetipsa liquescere* in *De diligendo Deo*; and as Gilson remarks, p. 156, 'Quelle difference y-a-t-il donc, a la limite, entre aimer Dieu et s'aimer soi-meme?'

[3] *Eko vaśī sarva-bhūtāntarātmā ekaṁ rūpam bahudhā yaḥ karoti: Tam ātma-stham ye'nupaśyanti dhīrās teṣāṁ sukhaṁ śāśvatam netareṣām.*

The force of *anu* in *anupaśyanti* we can only suggest by the repeated 'seeing . . . and seeing with'. It is lamented by the descending souls that 'Our eyes will have little room to take things in . . . and when we see Heaven, our forefather, contracted to small compass, we shall never cease to moan. And even if we see, we shall not see outright' (Hermes, Stobaeus, *Exc.*, XXIII, 36); 'For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known' (I, Cor. XIII, 12). Sight-of is perfected in sight-as, even as knowledge-of in knowledge-as (*adaequatio rei et intellectus*: to see Heaven 'outright' requires an eye of Heaven's width. *Dhīrāḥ*, 'contemplatives', those who see inwardly,

An 'actual experience of Unknowing and of the Negative Path that leads to it' (Rolt, *ib.*) is not easy to be had, unless for those who are perfectly mature, and like ripe fruits, about to fall from their branch. There are men still 'living', at least in India, for whom the funeral rites have been performed, as if to seal them 'dead and buried in the Godhead'. 'It is hard for us to forsake the familiar things around, and turn back to the old home whence we came' (Hermes, *Lib.*, IV, 9). But it can be said, even of those who are still self-conscious, and cannot bear the strongest meat, that he specially, if not yet most specially, 'feeleth joy', whose will has already fully consented to, though it may not yet have realized, an annihilation of the whole idea of any private property in being, and has thus, so to speak, foreseen and foretasted an ultimate renunciation of all his great possessions, whether physical or psychic. *Mors janua vitæ.*

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not with the 'eye of the flesh' (*māṁsa cakṣus*); who see the Spirit 'above all to be seen' (*abhidhyāyeyam*, MU., I, 1), 'the Spirit that is yours and in all things, and than which all else is a wretchedness' (BU., III, 4. 2).

Note that *ekaṁ rūpam bahudhā yaḥ karoti* corresponds to S., II, 212 *eko'pi bahudhā homi*: and 'than which all else is a wretchedness' to the Buddhist *anicca, anattā, dukkha.*

THE RACIAL AFFINITY BETWEEN THE BRAHUIS AND THE DRAVIDIANS

By C. R. Roy

The racial history of the Brahuis is a little complicated one and a puzzle to the anthropologist, as these people speak Dravidian form of language. It is now admitted that the Brahui language belongs to the Dravidian stock of language. According to Greerson's Survey of Indian languages, most of the Dravidian-speaking areas are situated in the south of India and a few patches are in C.P. and Bengal. The only small island of Dravidian-speaking area lies far away in Baluchistan and it is surrounded on all sides by the Indo-Aryan languages.

Owing to the similarity of language between the two people, it was assumed that the Dravidians entered India from beyond the North-Western Frontier and the Brahuis were regarded as an outpost of the main body of the Dravidians in South India. The most important objection in accepting this theory is the supposed dissimilarity of the physical features of these two people. Risley maintained that the similarity of languages of two people does not necessarily imply the similarity of the race. He objected to the hypothesis of the racial affinity of the Brahuis with the Dravidians on the ground that few types of humanity can present more physical difference than the Brahuis and the Dravidians.

Now it must be pointed out that there is much confusion about the definition of the Dravidians owing to faulty classification of races. According to Haddon, 'The Dravidians are usually confounded with the Pre-Dravidians. The name Dravidian is the anglicized form of Dravida and is employed to include peoples speaking Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese, Talegu, and kindred language. Apart from languages there is a general culture which is characteristic of these people and after elimination of the Pre-Dravidians (the aboriginals) a racial type emerges with finer features than those of the aboriginals'. The Dravidians are Dolichocephalic mesorrhine people with plentiful hair, wavy with an occasional tendency to curl, brown black skin, medium stature, and they are akin to Mediterranean in many respects, while the Pre-Dravidians are typically very dark-skinned Dolichocephalic Platyrrhine people.

It is no doubt true that Risley's argument holds good when he meant the Pre-Dravidian by the word Dravidian, but we are not concerned here with the Pre-Dravidians. So after eliminating the

Pre-Dravidian, we should see whether there is any racial affinity between the true Dravidians and the Brahuis. According to Haddon, the Brahuis are akin to the Baluchis who are on the border line of Mesobrachy, whereas the Dravidians are Dolichocephalic mesorrhine people. The same difficulty of the dissimilarity of physical features arises here also. But according to measurements of 100 Brahuis taken by me,[1] I found there is fairly a large percentage of Dolichocephalic mesorrhine element which can be affiliated either to the Dravidian or to the Mediterranean. In the Cephalic index I found 33 are Dolichocephalic, 46 Mesocephalic, and 21 Brachycephalic. The nasal index shows 45 leptorrhine, 54 Mesorrhine, and 1 Platyrrhine. By combining the cephalic and nasal indices, we arrive at the following results:—

(1)	Brachycephalic	Platyrrhine	1%.
(2)	,,	Meso.	10%
(3)	,,	Lepto.	10%.
(4)	Mesocephalic	Meso.	22%
(5)	,,	Lepto.	24%
(6)	Dolichocephalic	Leptorrhine	12%
(7)	,,	Meso.	21%

From this analysis it is evident that these people are not homogenous but admixture of different racial elements. We may suggest the following:—

(1) The Platyrrhiny element (1%) is due to the admixture of the Pre-Dravidians.

(2) The Brachycephalic mesorrhine element (10%) may be affiliated to an indefinite group Indo-Iraneus—(a mixed type).

(3) The Brachycephalic leptorrhine element (10%) due to the admixture with the Homo-Alpinus or Pamiri stock such as Galcha, Tagich, Kurds, etc.

(4 and 5) There is a large percentage of Mesocephalic lepto-mosorrhine element (22%–24%) which may be affiliated to somewhat indefinite group, the Irano-Mediterranean, as the substratum of this group is the Mediterranean (a mixed type).

(6) The Dolichocephalic leptorrhine group (10%) may be affiliated to the Indo-Afghans such as the Afghan, Balti, Kafir, Dards, etc.

(7) There is also a fairly large percentage of Dolichocephalic mesorrhine group (21%) which may be affiliated to the Mediterranean or the Dravidians.

[1] Read before the Indian Science Congress, 1937.

It is evident from the analysis that the basis of the Brahui people is the Mediterranean, as it is found in group Nos. 2, 4, 5 and 7. It follows that the original Brahuis were Mediterraneans, but they were modified by the admixture of the Homo-Alpinus or the Pamiri stock on one hand and of the Indo-Afghans on the other, giving rise to two indefinite intermediate series—the Irano-Mediterraneans and the Indo-Iraneus according to percentage of admixtures.

The social organization and the marriage customs in the Brahuis point to the same conclusion as we have shown before. Though the Brahuis are distinctly inclined to endogamy as a result from the practice of marrying a woman of the same group, near kinswoman or if possible a first cousin, and they consider themselves pure in blood but in practice they are not so. Their social organization shows that they mix with other tribes not only on the agnate kinship but upon common good and common ill, in other words, it is cemented together by the obligation arising from the blood feud. Huggs Buller has shown that the Afghans, Baluchis, Jats, Kurds, etc. (i.e. Indo-Afghan and Pamiri stock) gain easy admission into the tribe. 'As soon as a man joins the tribe permanently, he becomes participator in good and ill. Then having shown his worth, he was given in vested interest in the tribal welfare by acquiring a portion of the tribal land and his admission was afterwards sealed with blood by a woman from the tribe given to him or to his sons in marriage. The practice is that whenever stalwart alliance whose services are considered worth-having are admitted into the tribe by gift of a wife or perhaps one should say, the loan, for in the absence to the contrary, woman so given, goes back to his own family on the death of her own husband.'

The vanity of the pure blood kept the Brahuis from completely merging with the other stocks and consequently this vanity kept the purity of their old language though infiltration of other blood modified their features, imperceptibly in course of time. This was the puzzle which the anthropologist could not solve why they speak Dravidian form of language though there is a little difference of physical features with the Dravidians. But in spite of the Modification they preserved their original Mediterranean type to a great extent among the higher classes. From my observations I found the Mediterranean type is predominant in the higher classes such as Nicharis, Bungulzai, and Jatak.

It is now seen that the physical features of the Meditterranean and the original Brahui and the Dravidian are the same. Haddon says that 'Apart from the dark colour of the skin there are many points of resemblance between the Mediterranean and the Dravidian which point to an ancient connection, perhaps due to common

origin'. But he could not detect any relationship between the Brahuis and the Dravidians, and the Brahuis were a puzzle to him. He says, 'The puzzling Brahui speak Dravidian type of language but from their physical measurements and appearance they are Baluchi', and he placed them under the Indo-Iraneus group. His puzzle is probably due to the meagre data about the Brahuis.

From the analysis of measurements I have shown above that the percentage of the Brachymesorrhine element is comparatively low, and there is a large percentage of people that conforms to the Mediterranean type. The majority of the people belongs to the Irano-Mediterranean group. It is therefore desirable that the Brahui should be grouped under the Irano-Mediterranean series. Though Haddon grouped the Brahui under the Indo-Iraneus series, yet he admitted that in all respects they belonged to the Dolichomesocephalic series, i.e., the Mediterranean group as in No. 7. We find this Mediterranean type is common to both these people, so the puzzle of the supposed dissimilarity of the physical features of the Dravidians and the Brahuis has now been solved. If there is any connection between the Mediterranean and the Dravidian, the Brahuis must be the connecting link between the two.

It is evident that in some distant past time, a group of the Mediterranean people entered India through the N.W. Frontier, before they got mixed up with the Indo-Afghans and the Homo-Alpinus. The Brahuis, though they have undergone some modification, represent the old Mediterranean people who migrated to the South of India.

In the type II of the Mohenjo-Daro skulls, as described by Dr. Guha, we find the Mediterranean type is present in fair number, which clearly points to the same conclusion that there was an invasion of the Mediterranean into India at least about 2000 B.C.

Among the Dravidians as well as the Brahuis we find some relics of old material culture still present which also suggest the connection between the two. Basket is one of the most important objects of material culture, which undergoes little change through ages. It is very interesting to note that while studying the Baskets of India, I found a type of basket used by the Brahuis or the people of the N.W. Frontier, exactly similar to that used by the people of South India. The basket No. 8819 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, that comes from the N.W. Frontier, is exactly the same as the basket No. 88, that comes from Madras, and No. 7597, from Nilgiri. In technique, material, form, etc., they are strikingly similar and this kind of basket is not found in any part of India. This type is so characteristic and distinct that it cannot be regarded as an outcome of independent origin. The Dravidian people must have carried

this type of basket from the N.W. Frontier to the South of India. The language, physical features, Mohenjo-Daro skulls, material culture—all point to the same conclusion that the Brahuis are racially related to the Dravidians.

A PROTO-INDIAN REPRESENTATION OF THE FERTILITY GOD

By H. HERAS

That Āṉ, the Lord, the supreme God of the proto-Indians[1] was supposed to be the god of fertility, a number of inscriptions of that early period clearly evince. One says for instance:

 [2]

tēr nāḍ perāl uyarel, i.e. 'the high sun of Perāl of the chariot and the cultivated fields'. Perāl means the great man. It is a shorter form of the name Perumal by which god Śiva is known in South India even at the present time. The chariot and the cultivated fields are emblems of war and peace intended to symbolize destruction and generation. In fact, the image of god *Āṉ* is often shown among the branches of a tree as an evident manifestation of the fertility god.[3]

This paper will deal with an interesting oblong sealing—an amulet or charm—containing an inscription and some figures on each side of it (Fig. 1). It has been described by Sir John Marshall as follows: 'The cult of the Earth or Mother Goddess is evidenced by a remarkable oblong sealing from Harappa, on which a nude female figure is depicted upside down with legs apart and with a plant issuing from her womb. This figure is at the right extremity of the obverse face. At the left end of the same face and separated from it by an inscription of six letters are a pair of animal "genii", of which I shall have more to say presently. On the reverse side the same inscription is repeated, and to the left of it are the figures of a man and woman, the former standing with a sickle-shaped knife in his right hand, the latter seated on the ground with hands raised in an attitude of supplication. Evidently, the man is pre-

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1 Under this denomination the early Dravidian settlers of India prior to the Aryan invasion are understood. We know of their civilization through the ruins discovered at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa, and Chanhu Daro.

2 Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, III, M.D., 37.

3 *Ibid.*, I, pl. XII, Nos. 13, 14, 18, 19 and 22. Cf. Heras, *Tree Worship in Mohenjo Daro, The Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Jubilee Volume (1937), pp. 36-37; Heras, *The Plastic Representation of God amongst the Proto-Indians, Sardesai Memorial Volume*, pp. 229-230.

paring to kill the woman, and it is reasonable to suppose that the scene is intended to portray a human sacrifice connected with the Earth Goddess depicted on the other side, with whom we must also associate the two genii, whom I take to be ministrants of the Deity'.[1]

One cannot say why Sir John Marshall described this deity as 'the Earth or Mother Goddess', for owing to the small size of the sealing there is no evidence as regards this point. On the other hand, if there is any evidence as regards this point it seems to be in the opposite direction, for the *membrum virile* is seen between the legs of the deity. That this was so is confirmed by comparing this figure with three other figures, one found in a number of Sumerian and Babylonian seals, the other on a number of Egyptian pieces of carving, and the third on two Minoan seals.

On the former objects this figure is always represented nude with bow-bent legs having the *membrum* visible between them.[2] As regards his head he is sometimes shown in profile, but in many cases he is shown as in our Indian sealing. In one case this figure is shown seated over two long stems of lotus that are bent by him in order to form a seat.[3] This additional symbol may be a further allusion to fertility, which the pose of the figure itself sufficiently signifies.

Mr. Von der Osten when describing this figure in this individual seal calls this representation god Bes.[4] Bes is an Egyptian god who is supposed to be the 'patron of music, jollity and childbirth'.[5] There are two evident stages in the representation of this god in Egypt. In one he 'is depicted as a bandy-legged dwarf, his head sometimes surmounted by a row of feathers. He appears to have originally had the form of a lion or some other wild member of the cat tribe for in many representations he has the ears, mane and tail of this creature, which are, however, often interpreted by the artist as a skin which he is wearing'.[6] In a very ancient magic wand in

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[1] Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 52.

[2] Von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell*, Nos. 177, 192, 206, 217, 221, 226, 261, 267, 329, 651 (Chicago, 1934); Von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett*, Nos. 72, 52 (Chicago, 1936); Ward, *Cylinders and other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, No. 114 (New Haven, 1920). Legrain, *Ur Excavations*, Volume III, *Archaic Seal Impressions*, Nos. 268, 269, 270 (New York, 1936). A number of Cylinder Seals in the Collection of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, have also the same figure.

[3] Von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell*, No. 329.

[4] Von der Osten, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[5] Shorter, *The Egyptian Gods*, p. 129.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 34. Cf. Wallis Budge, *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt*, p. 254.

the British Museum [1] he is shown just as in the Mohenjo Daro sealing, or in the Mesopotamian seals, but holding two serpents, one in each hand, that coil round his legs. In this representation his *membrum* is so long as to reach the ground, a circumstance that has misled other later artists and interpreters who took it as a tail. (Fig. 2).

This second representation evidently shows an earlier way of representing this god not only because of the high antiquity of the piece of ivory on which the figure is carved, but also on account of its simplicity and lack of all sort of apparel. The third representation comes from Crete. On one of the seals his head and hands are broken but the pose of the legs is the same as in the other image described above.[2] Next to him there is a snake head downwards. We do not know whether one of the hands of the figure was holding the tail of the snake, for as said above the upper portion of the seal is missing. The *membrum* is not seen, but the fact of there being a snake next to the figure, just as in Egypt, leaves no doubt as to the nature of this icon. On the other seal there is no snake or any other animal next to the figure of the bow-legged man.[3] Yet here the *membrum* falling between the legs in the usual position clearly identifies this representation with those described above.

Now there cannot be any doubt that these four figures, one Indian, another Mesopotamian, the third Egyptian, and the fourth Cretan, represent one and the same being. In one seal the Mesopotamian figure is seated on two lotus stems, which, as said above, are a fertility symbol. Sir John Marshall is inclined to see a plant in the object that appears between the legs of the figure. But if one examines this object carefully, one identifies this object with a four-legged bug, a sort of cockroach which is attached to the *membrum*. What is the meaning of this strange combination?

In several sealings discovered at Mohenjo Daro this insect, with four legs and a long tail (just as in the animal under study), is seen in the centre of six large animals: an elephant, a deer or an ibex (?), a bull (?), a bird, an ass and another unidentifiable quadruped.[4] In front of his head it has two fairly long tentacles.[5] (Fig. 3). Other sealings of the same scene give a much slenderer body to the central bug, while they omit the central pair of animals (bull and bird) and add two fishes above the ass and its companion.[6] (Fig. 4). A

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1 British Museum, No. 18175.

2 Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I, p. 68, Fig. 37, c.

3 Evans, *op. cit.*, I, p. 124, Fig. 93A, d. 1.

4 Photo, M.D. 1928-29, No. 4859 and 5154.

5 Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*, II, pl. XCIII, No. 16.

6 *Ibid.*, pl. XCI, Nos. 13 and 19; pl. XCII, Nos. *2a* and 10. Mr. Mackay identifies this central bug with a gharial. Cf. I, p. 357.

similar sealing was discovered at Uruk in Sumer during the season of 1929-1930 by the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wessenenschaft. (Fig. 5). In this sealing the four-legged bug is also shown in the centre of a group of animals among which one may recognize a tiger and a deer.[1] In some archaic sealings unearthed at Ur from 1928 to 1934, this same bug in an almost square shape appears once more, but then not surrounded by animals.[2] In two cases it may be seen next to a scorpion.[3] Some archaic Egyptian seals represent it exactly in the same way as in Ur.[4] The fact that this bug in itself so small is shown in some of the sealings both in India and in Sumer larger than the largest quadrupeds, the elephant for instance, clearly reveals its extraordinary importance in relation to them. Now this importance cannot be real, but only symbolical. What can finally be the symbolism existing behind this queer being?

The adjoining chart comparing the representations of these countries mentioned above shows how it finally develops into a regular beetle, the famous *scarabaeus sacer*, in Egypt (Fig. 6). Now the Egyptian beetle is already existent in pre-dynastic times. From those very early days the Egyptians saw similarity between the beetle rolling its egg ball over the earth, and the sun, the great source of activity and fertility, rolling over the sky day by day.[5]

The morning sun is represented as having a beetle instead of head and is called Khepera that means 'he who rolls'.[6] In an ancient Egyptian text, Neb-er-tcher, a form of the sun-god Ra, says 'I am he who came into being in the form of the god Khepera, and I was the Creator of that which came into being, that is to say, I was the Creator of everything which came into being; now when I had come into being myself, the things which I created and which came forth from out of my mouth were very many'.[7] Thus the beetle finally became a symbol of fertility and even of re-birth, that being the reason why images of the beetle were put over the mummies. This shows that this insect was supposed to be a symbol of fertility, both for the animal kingdom and especially for man. Quite appropriately, therefore, in the sealing under study it is shown attached to the organ of generation.

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1 Jordan, *Zweiter Vorlaenfiger Bericht, ueber die von Der Notgemeinschaft der Deutchen Wissenschaft in Uruk unternommenen Ausgrabungen*, p. 51 (Berlin, 1931).

2 Legrain, *op. cit.*, Nos. 282, 283.

3 *Ibid.*, pl. 29, Nos. 517, 588.

4 Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, p. 122, figs. 55 and 57.

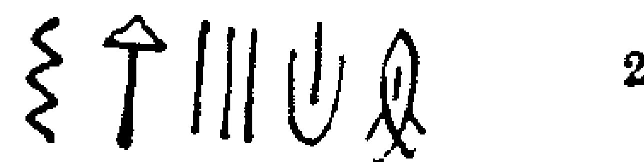
5 Cf. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 237-8. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, II, 4, 380. In many Egyptian carvings the beetle is seen next to the discus of the Sun.

6 Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life*, p. 99 (London, 1908).

7 Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, I, p. 294.

Now the Egyptian figure of Bes of the magic wand mentioned above holds two serpents. What is the special meaning of these reptiles in the hands of Bes? Mr. Shorter says: 'In the pictures carved on certain magical wands of ivory he is shown strangling and devouring serpents, in order to protect mankind from these noxious animals'.[1] The description given above may be true in other cases, but I have never seen Bes represented actually eating serpents. The real meaning is totally different.

Śiva, the Dravidian god of India, is a god who is on different occasions shown holding serpents or having serpents round his body. In the image called Maheśamurti, which is a *Trimurti* representing him as creator, preserver and destroyer of the world, this last image holds a serpent as symbol of destruction. Even Āṇ, the prototype of Śiva of the Mohenjo Daro period, is supposed to have a serpent. Thus the following inscription says:—

 [2]

i.e. '*mīn eṇ mūnkaṇ pav*', i.e. the serpent of the shining worshipped three-eyed one.[3] Now, as said above, a serpent in the hands of Śiva is a symbol of destruction, but according to Indian ideology destruction is necessary for creation, death is required for generation. Hence a symbol of destruction was to be as well a symbol of fertility and generation. This idea seems also to be common in Egypt, for over the mummies one often finds beetles and also terracotta images of Bes,[4] two symbols of generation over the remnants of destruction. For according to their ideas, tomorrow's sun cannot be born, till today's sun dies away. Therefore the three objects associated with this bow-legged figure in the three countries referred to above, viz. a lotus flower, a beetle, and a serpent are symbols of generation or fertility.[5] This clearly indicates that this queer image of god also means fertility and generation.

This was evidently the original meaning of this god in Egypt. From this meaning the consequent meanings of enjoyment, pleasure

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1 Shorter, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

2 Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M.D. No. 251.

3 According to the proto-Indians, God had three eyes. Śiva also is supposed to be three-eyed.

4 Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 139 (Edinburgh, 1902).

5 The god of fertility in Sumer was also connected with the idea of a serpent. Cf. Frankfort, *Iraq. Excavations of the Oriental Institute*, 1932-33, p. 51.

and jollity are derived.[1] A number of facts of later Egyptian history still connect this god with his first original function of fertility. Thus his image adorned the foot of the marriage bed.[2] His image also appears in the birth-chamber of Queen Hatshepsut.[3] In the representation of the ithyphallic Osiris lying on his bier when begetting Horus, Bes is placed beneath the bier.[4] The picture of Bes is found in the birth rooms of all the ancient Egyptian temples where the presiding god was supposed to have been born [5]; and also in the lying-in rooms of the Egyptian queens.[6]

Now what is the origin of this fertility god? Or in other words, what was the migration of this god, from Egypt to Mesopotamia and India, or on the contrary, from India to Mesopotamia and Egypt? The fact that we have been long acquainted with the Egyptian and Mesopotamian Bes, and that a similar image of this god has not been found in India till late may induce some to state that the Egyptian or Mesopotamian images might be earlier than the Indian one. But this would not be a right consequence. Let us study this question dispassionately, as it is of the utmost importance.

First of all Bes is a god evidently foreign in Egypt. The Egyptian gods are always drawn in profile. Bes is always drawn in full face. Let us take, for instance, the earliest representation of the Egyptian Bes, that is in the above-mentioned magic wand of the British Museum. All the pre-dynastic gods shown in this object (both obverse and reverse) are in profile. Only the two images of Bes are drawn in full face.[7] Moreover, it is customary in Egyptian iconography to represent the gods at least partially dressed, i.e. with the organs of generation covered.[8] Bes from very early times till the later ages of the Empire was always represented wholly nude. It may still be seen in the same state of nudity even when identified with Horus in the Metternich stele.[9] This strongly

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1 Even at a later period the god Bes in Egypt was represented playing musical instruments. Cf. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-254.

2 Shorter, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

3 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, II, pl. LI.

4 Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, II, pp. 41-42 (London, 1911). Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, II, pp. 136-137 (London, 1904).

5 Spence, *Myths and Legends of Ancient Egypt*, p. 281.

6 Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, II, pp. 285-286.

7 Some other images, also drawn in full face, for instance, that of goddess Quetesh, are also admitted to come from outside Egypt.

8 The same exception may be here recorded as regards some other images which are also accepted as foreign, for instance, Min.

9 Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, II, p. 231, goddess Qeṭesh is also shown naked and in front view. But she is also a foreign goddess. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 280.

suggests that in the country of his origin images of god were worshipped in a state of nudity. What was this country?

Though the original country of Bes is quite obscure,[1] all Egyptologists admit, apparently *a priori*, that Bes is an African god.[2] Some say that he is of Sudan origin.[3] At times he is introduced as coming from Nubia or even from the country still further to the south of Egypt.[4] Mr. Wallis Budge comes to the conclusion that since Bes is represented as a dwarf, with a headgear of feathers and covered with a feline skin, he must come from a country of pigmies using such an attire.[5] But while making this statement the learned writer of the British Museum forgets that the first image of Bes so far discovered (on the magic wand referred to above) is not given a dwarfish appearance nor does he wear a feather cap or an animal skin. These later developments of this icon, therefore, cannot be taken as useful data for determining its origin.

Let us now compare the images themselves of this extraordinary god. (Fig. 7). In the earliest Egyptian image Bes is represented with a broad mane and a small pointed beard. In the Sumerian and Babylonian seals, Bes is generally shown wearing a flat round cap. In one case he holds above his head a tray on which a vase appears.[6] Often his two hands are not symmetrically placed.[7] Almost always his face is in profile, though the rest of the body is shown in front view. All these differences point to a later period when this god was losing his original simplicity of apparel and pose.

But the simplest and most original of the four kinds of images is beyond doubt the proto-Indian one from Mohenjo Daro. In this figure there is no apparel at all; the god has no mane and no beard. One cannot imagine a simpler representation of a deity. On the other hand, among the proto-Indians numerous representations of God in a state of nudity have been discovered.[8] All this seems to point to India as the country of the origin of Bes.

This is confirmed by comparing the figures of the bug seen under the legs of the proto-Indian god with the Egyptian beetle, which is evidently the final development of the former. It may be noticed

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1 Spence, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

2 Cf. *A Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms of the British Museum*, p. 154 (1904).

3 Wallis Budge, *The Dwellers in the Nile*, p. 165.

4 Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, II, p. 270.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 287.

6 Von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals . . . of Mr. Edward T. Newell*, No. 162.

7 *Ibid.*, Nos. 177, 192, 217, 226, 651.

8 Cf. Heras, *The Plastic Representation of God amongst the Proto-Indians, Sardesai Memorial Volume*, pp. 223–232.

that this beetle is already drawn in the magical wand almost next to Bes, being in no way different from the beetles of the later period. The adjoining chart showing the development of this insect will reveal its origin without any shadow of doubt. The figures of the sealings discovered at Ur and at Uruk seem to be older than the beetle of the magical wand.

Let us now turn to the name of this god. We are told that he is called Bes from the animal's skin that covers him. This animal is a great feline called *Besa* or *Basu* the *Cynelurus Guttatus.*[1] Yet in his earliest Egyptian representations Bes does not wear any animal's skin. Hence his name cannot come from an accidental later piece of dress. If we turn to India once more we find three modern Dravidian languages that have words coming from the root *bes.*[2] Kannada has the word *besal,* that means 'birth', 'production', 'bringing forth children', 'to be delivered'. Tuḷu has *bēsāya,* 'cultivation', 'agriculture'.[3] Singhalese has *peṣi* that means 'egg of a bird'. (Words coming from the same root have at times different quantities in the vowels in different Dravidian languages.[4] Moreover in Dravidian languages there is no difference between *p* and *b*).

Therefore the original root *bes,* or perhaps better *pes* (for the softened sound *b* seems to be of a later period) or *pek,* as is common in Dravidian origins, may have had the meaning of 'generating', 'producing', etc. Hence *Pek* or *Pes* or *Bes,* as the name of a god, would mean 'the generator', 'the producer'.

Finally when we first find this god in Egypt, he is one out of a series of gods already obsolete and not worshipped.[5] Among the proto-Indians of Mohenjo Daro he is not a god out of many. He is only a form or representation of Āṇ, the Lord, the Supreme Being, in the exercise of his function of creator or producer.[6] This oneness of God, which permeates all the religious tenets of the proto-Indians,[7]

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[1] Lanzone, *Dizionario,* pls. 70, 77. Cf. Spencer, *op. cit.,* p. 281.

[2] The proto-Indian authors of the so-called Indus valley civilization were Dravidian and spoke a Dravidian language, the mother of all modern Dravidian languages. Cf. Heras, *Mohenjo-Daro, The Most Important Archæological Site in India, Journal of Indian History,* XVI, pp. 1–7.

[3] This also seems to be the original Tamil word meaning agriculture. The modern Tamil word for agriculture *vivasaya* is of Sanskrit origin. Yet in Sanskrit it only means 'effort', 'hard work'. This shows that on account of the similarity between both words those who wished to Sanskritize the Tamil language introduced the Sanskrit word giving it the meaning of the original Dravidian word, *besaya.*

[4] Cf. Gnana Prakasar, *Some Laws of Dravidian Etymology, Journal of Oriental Research,* XI, pp. 147-148.

[5] Cf. Wallis Budge, *From Fetish to God,* pp. 67–89.

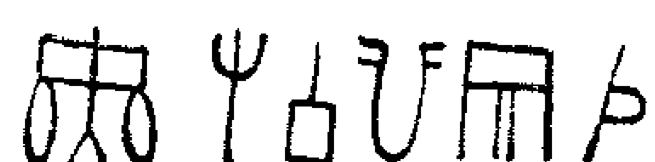
[6] Cf. Heras, *op. cit.,* Sardesai Memorial Volume, p. 225.

[7] Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions, Journal of the University of Bombay,* V (History and Economics Section), pp. 1–8.

seems to be nearer to the primitive revelation of God to man than the different representations or forms of the same god worshipped later as different deities.

Mr. Wallis Budge refers to the tradition existing in Egypt that Bes originally came from Punt.[1] This seems to be quite likely, as Punt is supposed to be the original land of the early Egyptians also. Yet Punt was the last stage of their migration, where they might have remained for years and years, so as to practically forget the country from where they had first come. The decipherment of the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions, together with a number of allied subjects simultaneously studied, leaves no doubt about the Indian Hamitic origin of the Egyptians.[2] In their way to Africa across the Erytrean or Arabian Sea they carried *Pek* or *Pes* or *Bes* with them, an image of god which owing to special circumstances did not suffer such a great evolution as other images of the primitive pantheon. Thus the origin of *Bes* is decidedly Asiatic.

Now next to this image in the proto-Indian sealing there is an inscription running as follows:



which reads: *nila enma eḍupati vēl tūk*, i.e. 'the justice of the King of the village of the Ram on the eighth (day) of the Moon'. This epigraph seems to refer to an act of justice performed by the king of the village called Eḍupati. The fact that the same inscription is found on the reverse of the amulet seems to suggest some connection between this act of justice and the persons figured on this side. They are a woman kneeling down with spread hair and lifted arms. Behind her there is a man standing holding a sickle in his right hand and something like a small shield in his left one. These two figures seem to represent the execution of the woman. Thus the man holding the sickle would be the King of the village, i.e. the god of the village, since government was theocratic [3]; or perhaps the King-priest as the farmer on behalf of God. This execution was to take place on *nila emma*, the eighth (day) of the moon. The eighth day of the moon was the middle of the first or dark fortnight of the

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[1] Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, II, p. 288.

[2] This is not the place to develop this statement. It will be done elsewhere. For the present it will suffice to draw the attention of the reader to the four flag bearers of the pallete of Narmer and to the four flag bearers of Mohenjo Daro in Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, Pl. CXVI, Nos. 5 and 8.

[3] Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions*, l.c., 25-26.

moon. Such days have always been held in veneration by the Hindus down to the present time, when they are known by the name of *Ashtami*. One *Gōkul Ashtami* is held every year with extraordinary rejoicings and that day is an official government holiday. The word *enma* seems to be a very ancient Dravidian word kept only in Tuḷu. This shows that the execution of that woman was an act of religion, a sacrifice. But why was it called an act of justice?

The sealing under study was supposed to be a fertility charm, as it appears from the representation of the fertility god. Hence the other side of the charm refers to a sterile woman, whose prayers were not heard by the god of fertility. Such women had not, according to ancient ideas, a right to live. They had to be sacrificed and that sacrifice is called the justice of the king of the village.

What the two animals standing on their hind legs and apparently taking to each other, as seen on the obverse, represent is impossible to say. They are prototypes of animals of the same type often seen in Sumerian seals: and perhaps also of the numerous headed gods of the Egyptian pantheon.



FIG. 1. Fertility Charm from Mohenjo Daro.
(*Copyright: Archæological Survey of India.*)



FIG. 4. Sealing from Mohenjo Daro.
(*Copyright: Archæological Survey of India.*)



FIG. 3. Sealing from Mohenjo Daro.
(*Copyright: Archæological Survey of India.*)



Abb. 44. Siegelabdruck in Ton aus Schicht V Fundnummer 756).

FIG. 5. Sealing discovered at Uruk, Sumer.
(*From Jordan, Zweiter Vorläufiger Bericht.*)

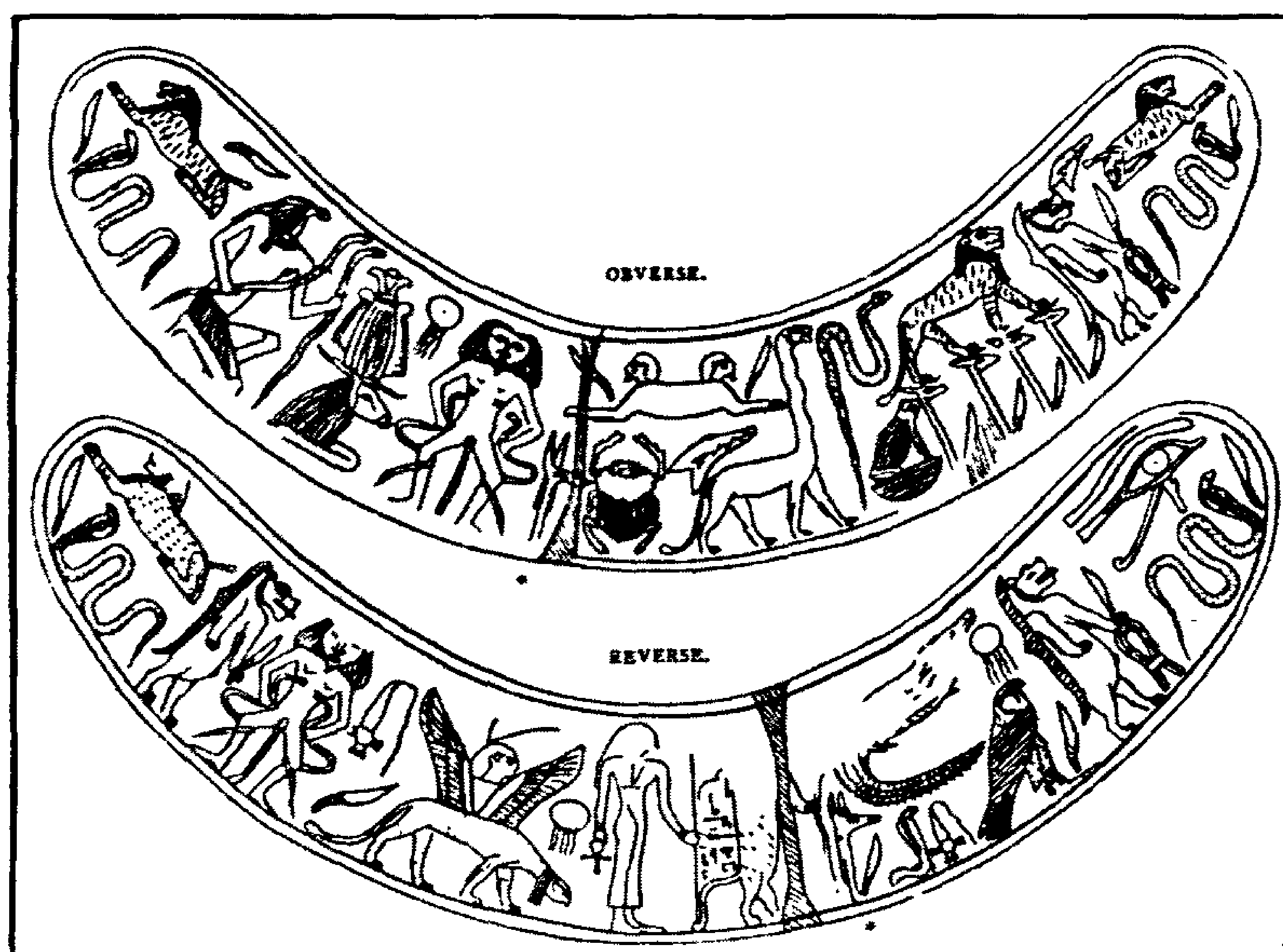
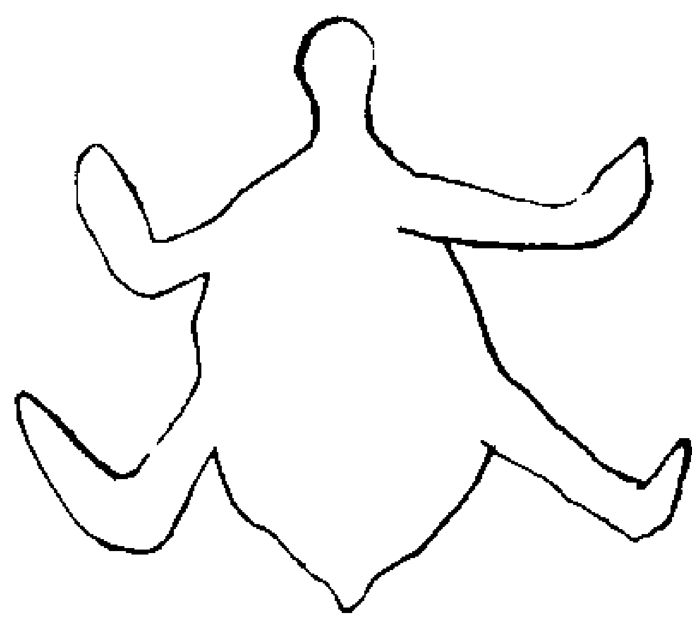
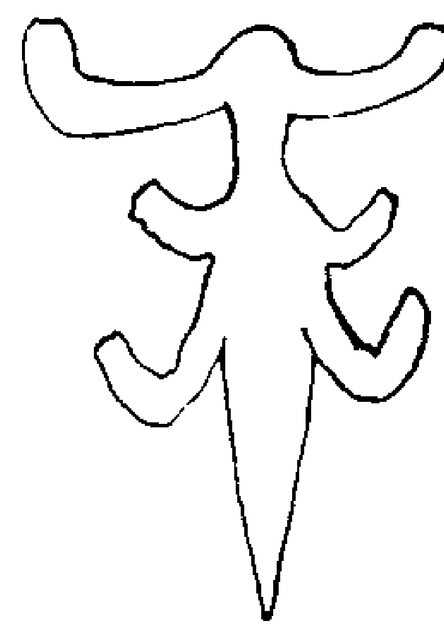
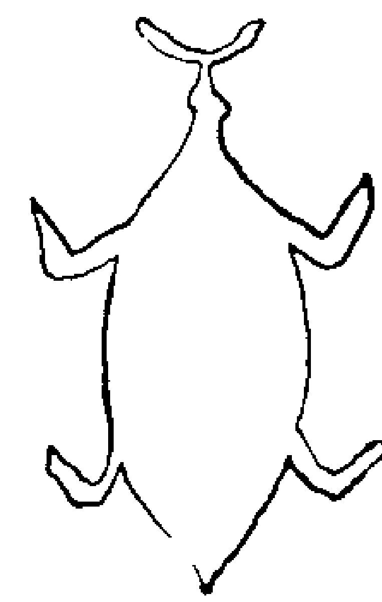


FIG. 2. Egyptian magic wand on which the figure of Bes is represented.

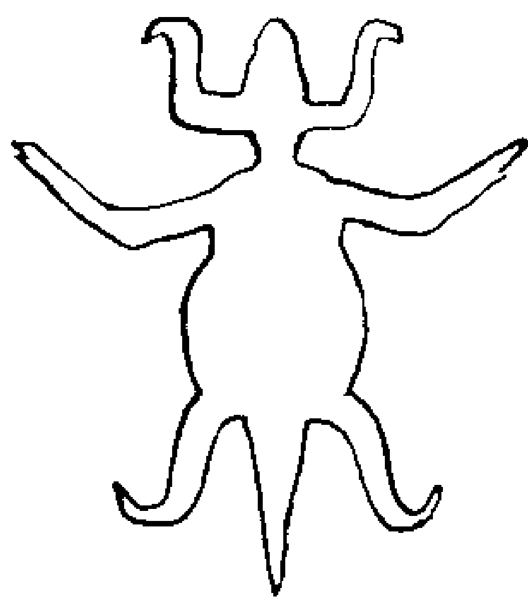


A. Mohenjo Daro
Fertility Charm.

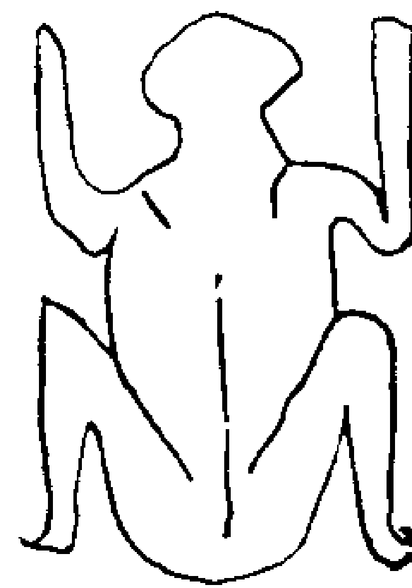


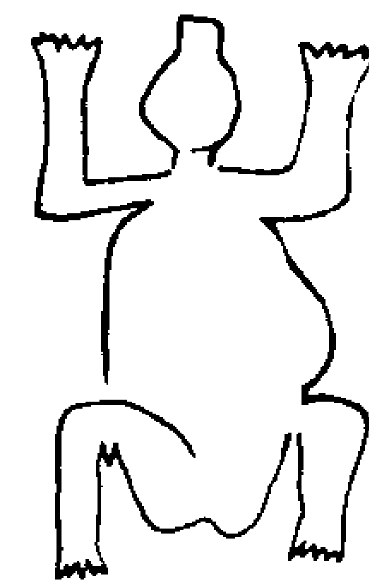


B and C. Mohenjo Daro
Sealings of quadrupeds.

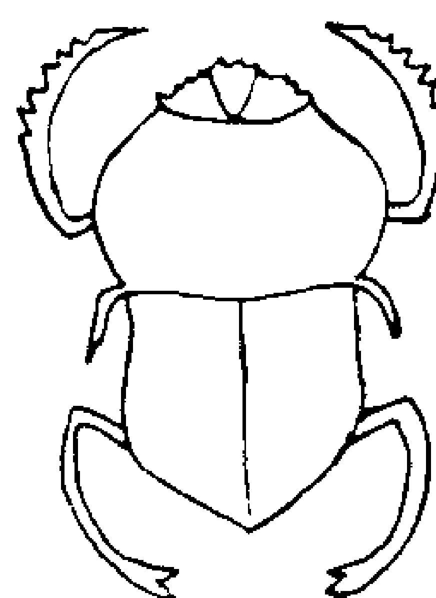


D. Ur, Sumer.



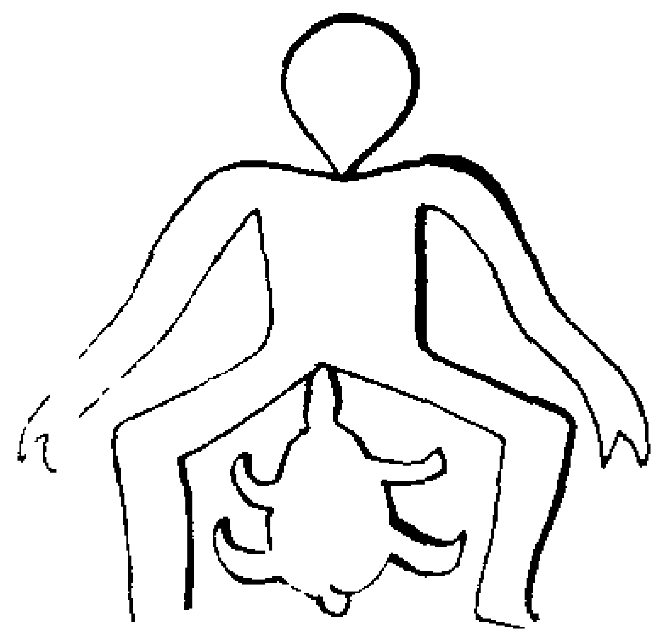


E and F. Ur, Sumer.

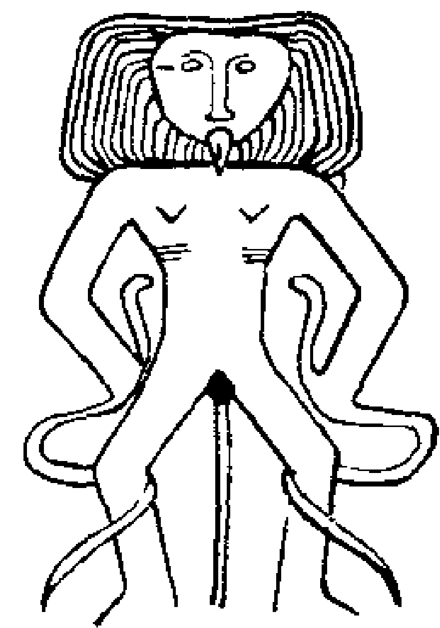


G. Egypt.

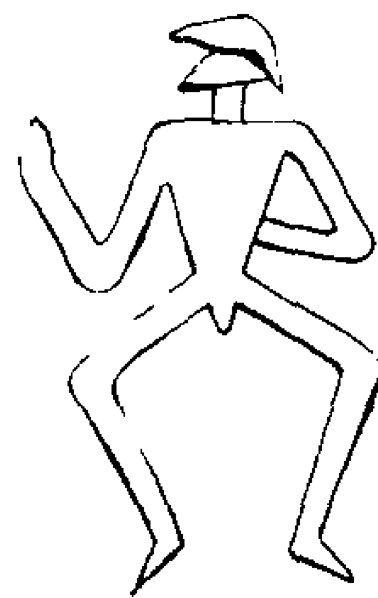
FIG. 6. Development of the Fertility Bug.

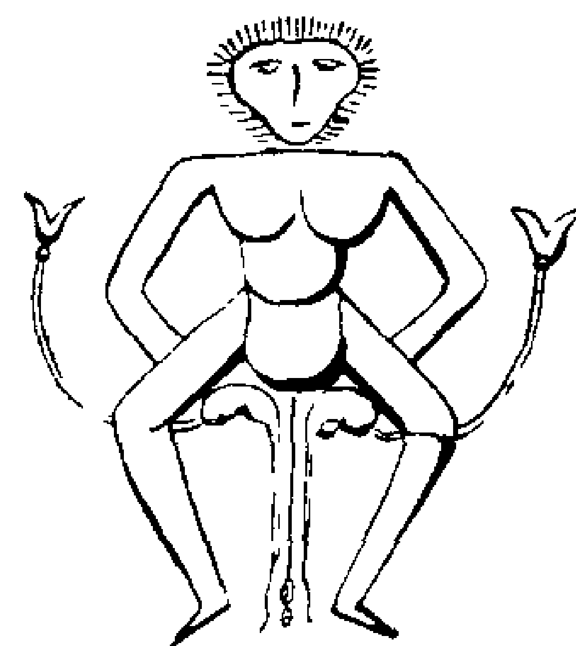


A. Mohenjo Daro.

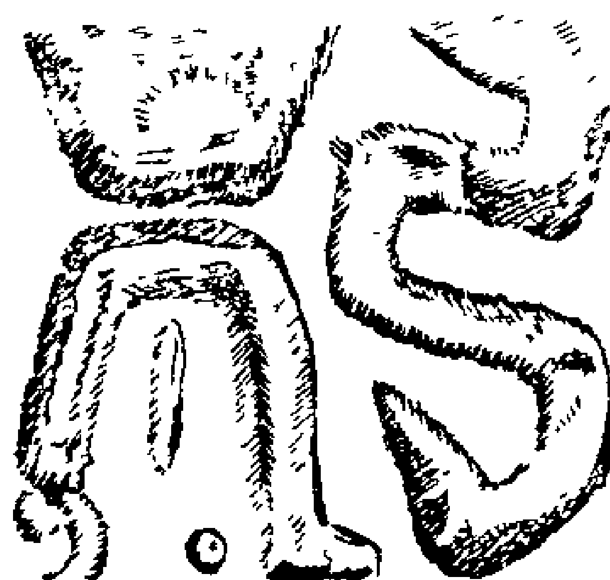


B. Egypt.





C and D. Sumer.





E and F. Crete.

FIG. 7. Development of the Fertility God.

THE RÔLE OF ALAṂKĀRA IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

By DOROTHY STEDE

That poetics are allowed to be included in philosophy is a proof of the concrete and all-embracing nature of the Indian outlook. The art of poetics is regarded as a science, the pursuit of which has the four conventional aims of mankind,—dharma, artha, kāma, mokṣa,—in view. That is to say, true poetry can have practical as well as æsthetic value: it not only gives pleasure to the reader or hearer, but, rightly used, it constitutes one of the paths to liberation. Sarasvatī, goddess of wisdom, is also called Vāc, Word personified. The 'light of speech' is often referred to, as for example in the following śloka:

'Idam andhaṃ tamaḥ kṛtsnaṃ jāyeta bhuvanatrayam
yadi śabdāhvayaṃ jyotir ā saṃsāraṃ na dīpyate.'
—(Kāvyādarśa I, 4.)

'These three worlds would relapse into blind darkness, if the light called speech did not shine till the end of time.'

What is the test of good poetry? It is not necessary for the poem to be in verse, nor is all verse regarded as poetry; for there are many prose poems (e.g. the Daśakumāracaritam), while countless lawbooks and abstract treatises are couched in verse, as an aid to memory.

It is significant that the Sanskrit equivalent for 'Ars Poetica' is Alaṃkāra-śāstra, the 'teaching of the ornaments' (i.e. poetical embellishments or figures, the literal meanings of Alaṃkāra being 'state of sufficiency, balance, rounding off, making perfect'). For the art of poetics in India has been developed to such an extent and the poet's work is circumscribed by so many rules regarding metre and rhetorical figures, that it is often impossible to see the wood for the trees. It is recommended that poetry should deal with one or more of the so-called 'rasas' or tastes, sentiments, viz. vīra heroism, śṛṅgāra love, karuṇā pity, bībhatsa disgust, raudra anger or fury, bhayānaka fear, hāsya mirth, adbhuta wonder, and (though this last is not accepted by all schools, and is of later development than the others) śānta contentment, tranquillity. The term śānta in the religious sense is applied to the man who has conquered all desire and is ripe for liberation; it is thus a requisite of the fourth aim, mokṣa.

However, it stands to reason that poetry must in any case deal with emotions such as these. It is not the rasas as such, but the alaṃkāras themselves which determine the æsthetic value of a poem. Their importance may be measured by the fact that there are no fewer than 32 varieties of simile (to mention only one figure of speech) prescribed in the Kāvyādarśa. Most of the similes must perforce be concerned with the task of connecting man with his surroundings, the animals, plants, and planets. For instance, there are 25 different ways in which a girl's face may be compared to a lotus. The only restrictions on the resultant concrete expressions are those dictated by a sense of fitness or decency, e.g. one should not compare a faithful servant to a dog. On the other hand, the poet may use metaphorically terms which he could not apply in the accepted sense. For example, ṣṭhīv and other words meaning 'expectorate' may with propriety be applied to phenomena of nature, such as the sky, or flowers; or a cloud may be described as 'pregnant', whereas one should not refer to a woman in that condition.

Here it may be well to note the amazing metaphorical potentialities of the Sanskrit language, which is well illustrated by the innumerable śleṣas or puns (from śliṣ, to connect, intertwine) which abound throughout the literature. Even the simplest word may have twenty different meanings, all of which are employed to the full by the ambitious poet. Thus 'go', an ox or cow, may also mean 'anything coming from or appertaining to an ox or cow', e.g. milk, flesh, skin, hide, leather, strap, bow-string, sinew; while it has in addition such divergent meanings as 'the herds of the sky', the stars, rays of light, the sun, the moon; water; an organ of sense, the eye; a billion, the sky, a thunderbolt, a region of the sky; the hairs of the body; the earth (as the milch-cow of kings), a mother, speech, Sarasvatī (goddess of speech); and it may also apply in a figurative derogatory sense to a stupid person, 'an ox'.

The Kāvyādarśa (2, 57 *et seq.*) gives a significant list of synonyms for 'like'. First we have comparative particles, such as iva, vat, yathā, which have no secondary metaphorical sense. Not quite in their class is sama level, even (and hence equal). Then we have a group of terms having reference to weights and measures: samāna, sammita, upamā, upamita, tulya, tulita; then words meaning image or illumination, such as nibha, sannibha, saṃkāśa, nikāśa, prakāśa, pratibimba, ābha, praticchanda. Next comes a group of terms referring to various common attributes, e.g. likeness of form (sarūpa, pratirūpaka); of appearance (sadṛśa, sadṛkśa), and colour (savarṇa); shading through less personal, more social aspects denoting equality of birth (sajātīya) and country (deśya, deśīya) to still more intan-

gible and logical characteristics, e.g. saṃvādin and anuvādin, in agreement with (from logic or perhaps music?), prakhya one who may be addressed in the same way, and salakṣaṇa having the same (logical) mark. Lastly we have a group which illustrates the polarity of Indian thought: on the one hand sapakṣa (friend, on the same side), pratinidhi representative; and on the other virodhin out of harmony with, pratipakṣa a match for, pratidvandvin adversary, and pratyanīka vying with (bringing an army against).

So much for adverbial particles and adjectives (or nouns,—for nouns and adjectives are practically interchangeable in Sanskrit). Of verbs expressive of likeness, the following are mentioned: spardhate rival; jayati conquer, dveṣṭi hate, druhyati threaten, and pratigarjati vie with (lit. roar against)—all metaphors from the battle-field. In a narrower sphere, i.e. in the home, we have ākrośati scold, avajānāti despise, nindati blame, hasati laugh at, īrṣyati and asūyati envy, niṣedhati forbid. Then there are two denominatives, kadarthayati consider as a useless thing (lit. for what purpose?), and viḍambayati make an image of, mock. The only verb which has a really agreeable sense is sandhatte harmonize (=join), be reconciled. It will be noticed that many of these terms imply not merely equality but superiority,—particularly those meaning despise, laugh at, regard as worthless.

The implicit assumption of likeness in Bahuvrīhi compounds is too frequent a phenomenon to require much illustration: examples are śaśānka-vadana having a moonlike face; bāhulatā arm-creeker; padāmboja lotus-foot. From compounds we pass on to phrases, e.g. tasya muṣṇāti saubhāgyam (she) steals its charm; tasya kāntiṃ vilumpati (she) plunders its beauty (in comparing a beautiful girl to a lotus or to the moon); tena sārdhaṃ vigṛhṇāti he contends with it; tulāṃ tenādhirohati he mounts the balance with it (or him); tatpadavyāṃ padaṃ dhatte he places his foot in his (=another man's) footsteps; tasya kakṣāṃ vigāhate he plunges into its orbit or sphere; tam-anveti he follows him; anubadhnāti tacchīlam he binds himself to (i.e. follows closely) his behaviour; tan-niṣedhate he suppresses (surpasses) him; and tasyānukaroti he imitates him.

Even a cursory glance at the above list will give some idea of the ornate and elaborate character of Sanskrit poetry; and a detailed consideration of the Alaṃkāras, or 'ornamentations' only serves to deepen this impression. It has already been mentioned that according to Daṇḍin (Kāvyādarśa) there are 32 different kinds of upamā or simile. Thus for example we have the vastūpamā, a comparison in which the common quality is omitted, e.g. 'Thy face is (beautiful) like a lotus'; the vikriyopamā, a simile in which the object of

comparison is regarded as produced from the object to which it is compared, e.g. 'Thy face, O fair one, seems to be cut out from the disc of the moon, or from the centre of a lotus'; hetūpamā, a simile accompanied by reasons, e.g. 'You, O King, imitate the moon by reason of your lovableness, the sun by your splendour, the ocean by your steadfastness'; tulyayogopamā, combination of equal qualities (of unequal objects), as when a king is compared to Indra, by reason of his fighting prowess. By way of variation we have the viparyāsopamā, inverted comparison, in which the relation between upamāṇa and upameya, object and subject of comparison, is reversed, e.g. 'The lotus is like your face'; the asambhāvitopamā, simile implying an impossibility, as 'a harsh word from that mouth would be like poison from the moon's disc (instead of nectar) or fire from sandal'; abhūtopamā, something that has not happened, as 'your face gleams as if the essence of all the glory of lotuses had been collected together'; pratiṣedhopamā, a comparison expressed in the form of a prohibition: 'The moon cannot compete with your face, for it is tainted (with spots) and cold (or stupid)'. The virodhopamā, or comparison founded on opposition, is illustrated as follows: 'The lotus, the autumn moon, and your face,—this triad is mutually opposed'. Then we have the praśaṃsopamā, or laudatory comparison: 'Brahmā was born from a lotus and the moon adorns Śiva's forehead; yet your face is equal to these'. The opposite of this is the nindopamā, a simile involving reproof: 'The lotus has much pollen (or the quality of rajas, passion); the moon is subject to consumption (waning); therefore your face, though equal to them (as regards other qualities) is really superior'. The simile implying a doubt, saṃśayopamā, is illustrated as follows: 'Is this a lotus with a bee moving inside it, or is it your face, with its wavering glance?' It will be seen that doubt, to become a poetical figure, must not be the doubt which arises from circumstances, such as the common example 'Is this a post or a man?' It must be 'a doubt raised by the imagination (pratibhā) of the poet' (Keith). The atiśayopamā, hyperbole, is a favourite figure: 'Your face is a part of you, and the moon is in the sky—there is no other difference between the two'. Then we have the complementary pair of similes, niyamopamā and aniyamopamā, restricted and unrestricted comparisons: 'Your face is equal to the lotus and to nothing else'; and 'Your face imitates the lotus, and it may imitate anything else, if (a worthy object of imitation) exists'. The mutual (anyonya) upamā, as a final example, brings out the good qualities of both upamā and upameya: 'Your face is like the lotus, and the lotus is like your face'.

This does not exhaust the list of upamās, but it is fairly representative, and illustrates the polarity,[1] love of juxtaposition, confusion (or combination) of reality and fiction, and mixture of logical and psychological arguments which are familiar to the student of Indian philosophy. When a girl's face is to be compared with a beautiful object such as a lotus or the moon, the Indian poet is by no means satisfied with saying 'Your face is beautiful like the moon (or lotus)' or even 'Your face is, as it were, of the very substance of the moon'. No. The various known or imagined, actual or mythological, attributes of the moon are gathered together, and pressed into use; not only its waxing and waning, its shining, and its coldness; but also its spots,—regarded as taints, or as the mark of the hare or deer,—and the fact that it is supposed to have been worn on Śiva's forehead, and to consist of nectar which is drunk by the gods. These qualities, some of which may be regarded as faults, give endless scope for comparisons, some of which emphasize the lofty nature, and others the defects of the upamāna, but all of which are designed to flatter the upameya, the subject of the comparison.

The rūpaka, or metaphor, is described as an upamā with the particle iva or vat omitted. It has almost as many varieties as the upamā, and some of them correspond, e.g. the heturūpaka, or metaphor accompanied by reasons, as when a king is a mountain because of his dignity (or heaviness); the sea because of his depth (profundity of character); and the wishing-tree because he grants desires to his subjects. Here, as so often, we see the important rôle played by śleṣas or puns, without which no poem worthy of the name would be complete.

We have already seen how many meanings one word can have; let us now glance at a selection of synonyms for familiar phenomena. The moon, for example, is known as candra, candramā, candramasa (from cand, shine, be bright); indu (originally 'drop', bright drop, spark,—this was applied only to the moon in the Brāhmaṇas, but later to Soma juice, and hence the confusion of the two ideas later); śvetārcis, śiśirāṃśu, cold-rayed (in contrast to the sun); śaśin, śaśāṅka, śaśalāñchana, and mṛgāṅkota, 'Hare- or deer-marked', alluding to the spots, our 'man in the moon'. This list is not exhaustive, but it gives some idea of the possibilities of the synonyms.

There is an even greater variety of terms for 'lotus', though we must remember that a number of these terms are simply names for the different varieties of flower, and have no particular metaphorical significance. For example: utpala and puṣkara (lotus in general);

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[1] See 'Polarity of the Indefinite', by Dr. Betty Heimann, my teacher. Coomaraswamy Volume, Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (1937).

kamala, pink lotus (from kam, to love,—there is no doubt a symbolic reason for applying this term to a pink or red flower); padma, white lotus; tāmarasa and kairava, day and night lotus respectively (for the former, cf. tāmra, copper). The night lotus is white. It is noteworthy that these two distinct varieties of flower should correspond in colour to the sun and moon respectively, and thus foster the belief in the mythical friendship between day-lotus and sun, and night-lotus and moon; indīvara, blue lotus (also: nīlotpala, asitotpala). Then we have a group of terms which refer to the special characteristics of the lotus: rājīva, streaked or striped; nalinī, (from nala, reed, because of its hollow stalk); śatapatra, the hundred-leaved; aravinda (from ara, spoke, alluding to its wheel-shape); bisinī, having filaments. Further, bakasaṃvāsin, living in the same place as the crane; and kumuda, 'exciting what joy?',—a reference to its æsthetic value. A number of words refer to the lotus's place of origin, e.g. ambho-ja, ambhoruha, paṅkaja, saroja, vanaja, ambuja, amburuha, abja, nīraja (water-born, water-grown, lake-born, wood-born, etc.).

The synonyms for 'bee' are interesting. First we have bhṛṅga and bhramara, 'wanderer' (perhaps bhṛṅga is also onomatopoetic, referring to the buzzing); and, from bhramara, the curious term dvirepha, the creature with two r's in its name. Other aspects of the insect are expressed by ali, 'the creature with a sting', madhukara, 'honey-maker', madhura, 'honey-drinker', and madhuvrata, 'devoted to honey'; and ṣaṭpada, 'having six feet'.

The sun cannot be said to have captured the Indian imagination to the same extent as the moon. Apart from one or two names of deities identified with it, such as Sūrya, Savitṛ, Pūṣan, Āditya, its heat and light are practically the only qualities referred to. For example: tapana, bhāsvant, bhānu, bhāsāṃ nidhi (abode of light or lustres), caṇḍakara and uṣmāṃśu (hot-rayed: the antithesis of śiśirāṃśu, the moon), and simply aṃśumat, having rays. The sun's function as bringer of day is indicated by the terms divākara, dinakara, dinapati and divaseśvara (lord of day); dyumaṇi, jewel of day. More obscure terms are arka (arc, meaning praise, adorn, shine), ravi (possibly from ru, roar?), mihira (=Avestan Mithra?), and ina, strong, mighty. With arka, cf. Rājā, king and tejas, splendour: that which shines is praiseworthy and powerful.[1]

Synonyms for 'cloud' abound, and refer almost exclusively to its two functions, namely obstructing (ghana, abhra), and (most important) the giving of water; megha, ambhoda, dhārādhara, jalada,

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[1] For etymologies (mainly fanciful) of 'sun' synonyms, cf. Chāndogya Upaniṣad I, 2; I, 4; VI, 8, etc.; Maitrī Up. VI, 7.

jalamuc, payoda, pāthodhara, payodhara, jaladhara (all ending in derivatives of verbs expressing the ideas 'hold', 'give', or 'release'). Then we have parjanya, rain-cloud, of doubtful etymology,[1] and jīmūta, also meaning a rain-cloud.

The words for 'sea' to some extent correspond to those for 'cloud', since both are holders of water. Thus we have ambudhi, udadhi, vāridhi, abdhi, samudra ('gathering together of waters'), jaladhi, varāṃ nidhi ('abode of waters'), jalanidhi, toyadhi, payodhi, ambhonidhi, pāthodhi, vārdhi, udanvat, sindhu (flowing). Further, jalarāśi and amburāśi, 'heap of water'; arṇava (having waves? Probably from ṛ, go). More metaphysical expressions are akūpāra (unbounded), and ratnākara, home of gems. The ocean is also known as sāgara, after Sagara (sagara, 'with poison',—this may have some reference to the mythical churning of the ocean); and is frequently referred to as the lord of rivers—srotaḥpati, nadīśa, payasāṃ nātha.

As a final example let us take the earth,—so very important in an agricultural community. It is 'the broad one'—pṛthvī, pṛthivī, ūrvī; or 'great'—mahī. Or it is 'the bearer, supporter'—dhara, dharantī, or 'abode, dwelling',—kṣiti; the 'patient one',—kṣama, or kṣmā, because it submits to tilling; 'immovable, solid'—kṣoni, kṣauni. Then we have references to its fertility, and the giving of treasure, whether as food or as precious stones: medinī, (having fatness or fertility), vasudhā, vasumatī, vasuṃdharā. Lastly, bhū and bhūmi, bhuvana, from bhū, to become (since earth is ever changing).

From these examples it will be evident that Sanskrit was a language peculiarly suited to poetic development, and particularly rich in fancies. It was no accident that Word was deified; and that the art of poetry was incorporated into the study of philosophy. And when we find terms which in most other languages would be restricted to poetry, e.g. mahīdhara (mountain,—'bearer of the earth'), or mṛgāṅkita (moon='deer-marked') appearing in dull logical treatises, we are bound to admit that words in India are real bearers of meanings,—they are live things, concrete, dynamic.

It is well-known that primitive people cannot grasp the conception of genus. They may have terms for red cow, black cow, etc., but no term for cow in general. In the same way one may be tempted to call the highly developed Indian tendency to specialize,—to dwell on one aspect of a thing at a time,—a survival of the primitive. And, to the extent that Indian culture has developed from a

[1] Possibly connected with pṛc, give lavishly, or pṛj, and perhaps ultimately from pṛ, to fill (or speckled?).

primitive to an advanced stage with little or no interference from outside, and has therefore exhibited a marked conservatism of ideas, and an unwillingness to discard beliefs and turns of phrase, this is no doubt true. Mythological and metaphorical expressions for natural phenomena, etc., which were invented in the Rigvedic age, were still in current use among poets three thousand years later, even though these poets had devised new terms of their own as well. But to accuse the Indian people of inability to classify would be ludicrous. Classification with them became a passion, and was extended to all fields of learning, such as philosophy (cf. the names of the systems, e.g. Sāṅkhya, 'enumeration'; Vaiśeṣika, the system relating to differences or distinctions); cosmogony (3 or 7 worlds); and grammar, which like poetics was regarded as a branch of philosophy. The Sanskrit alphabet alone is evidence of an instinct for orderly arrangement which we at our 'advanced' stage have not yet reached. We may note, further, that the Indians had a method of classification according to principles strange to us. They frequently classified not according to species, but according to other distinctive characteristics, e.g. colour, shape, motion or the lack of it. And even a proper name can be replaced at will by a synonym (e.g. Kaṇāda, Kaṇabhuj, Kaṇabhakṣa).[1]

We are therefore justified in concluding that the wealth of synonyms which may be observed on any page of Indian poetry is the natural consequences of a distinctive tendency to look at an object from all possible angles, to gather up all its separate parts and fit them together to form a complete whole,—a whole which is the more complete because it is the more concrete, i.e. because each of its parts has been separately examined and grasped before it joins the rest to form the finished picture. It is significant that in logic (Nyāya philosophy) a thing consisting of sixteen parts is regarded as in reality consisting of seventeen (sixteen parts and the whole).

In India, then, words give more rational associations than their more abstract counterparts in the West, and therefore they survive longer. Instead of being liable to be supplanted by a more popular synonym, a Sanskrit word has an unlimited span of life; and the Mīmāṃsā idea of the eternity of sound was based not so much on a knowledge of the character of the ether, as on an appreciation of the sanctity of Word. It is common knowledge that oral tradition has had a greater rôle in India than perhaps in any other country: the necessity for preserving the Vedic texts syllable for syllable, without

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[1] See Dr. Heimann's Zur Indischen Namenkunde, Studia Indo-Iranica, Ehrengabe für Wilh. Geiger, 1931.

committing them to writing, sharpened the memory, and at the same time instilled into the listener an awe at the wonder of words.

The theory of dhvani, 'tone, sound' as applied to poetics, lays stress on a more subtle function of words and sounds. This theory in its full development belongs to a fairly late stage (about 820 A.D.), and was expounded by Ānandavardhana. The gist of it is that the unexpressed meaning of a poem is of more importance than the expressed meaning. This applies to metaphors, and also to words which have a double sense, and can accordingly be employed in śleṣas (e.g. kara, which means ray (of the sun), or hand, or tax). This is the rational sense of dhvani; in the irrational or instinctive sense it applies to the use of metres and sounds which fit the subject-matter, and by satisfying the critical ear, help to mould the poem into a perfect whole. A threefold division of poetry is laid down. First, true poetry, in which the implied meaning is of greater prominence than that which is expressed; second, medium poetry, in which the implied meaning is of secondary importance, and only serves to fill out and embellish that which is expressed; and third, the least valuable poetry, which relies mainly on fine language and various embellishments. This doctrine is of interest in that it crystallizes the marked fondness for śleṣas or puns which has already been observed, and which is an example (as its very name shows) of the co-ordinating tendency which refuses to look upon any phenomenon as single and separate, and which seeks to knit together heaven and earth, and all that therein is, into one complete whole.

In conclusion, let us consider one or two instances of śleṣas. Kāvyādarśa 2, 87 demonstrates the śliṣṭa-rūpakam, or punning metaphor:

Rājahaṃsopabhogārhaṃ bhramaraprārthyasaurabham
sakhi vaktrāmbujam idaṃ tava.

This means (1) Your lotus, O friend, is fit to be enjoyed by excellent kings, and its fragrance is desirable to young men. (2) (literal meaning) Your lotus-face (the stress this time being on lotus) is fit to be eaten by the king-swans, and its perfume is desired by the bees.

A pure śleṣa, without an obvious metaphor, is, for example:

atyacchenāviruddhena suvṛttenāticāruṇā
antarbhinnena samprāptaṃmauktikenāpi bandhanam.
—(Böhtlingk, Sprüche I, 165.)

This means (1) Even a transparent, unimpeded, well-rounded, lovely pearl becomes bound (upon a string) when it is pierced. (2) Even one who is striving after emancipation, who is very pure, not at

strife with anyone, of good conduct and well-esteemed, is bound (by earthly ties) when he is divided in himself.

Finally, a śleṣa which depends for its effect on a different dividing up of words and syllables, and accordingly almost trespasses on the ground of śabdālaṃkāras, figures of sound, as opposed to arthālaṃkāras, figures of sense:

akṣamālāpavṛttijṇā kuśāsanaparigrahā
brāhmīva daurjanī saṃsad vandanīyā samekhalā (same khalā).
—(Böhtlingk, Sprüche I, 52.)

'An assembly of rogues should be greeted respectfully, as well as an assembly of Brahmans, for it knows when the rosary is at an end (or: it knows how to live by envious talk), takes a seat of Kuśa grass (or: assimilates bad teachings), and wears the girdle (of a Brahman) (or: is malicious towards a good person).'

This leads us on to glance at the śabdālaṃkara proper, whose chief representative is the yamaka (literally: twin), paronomasia, or the repetition in the same stanza of words or syllables similar in sound but different in meaning. For example:

vārano vā raṇoddāmo hayo vā smara durdharaḥ
na yato nayato 'ntaṃ nastadaho vikramastava.
—(Kāvyādarśa 3, 9.)

'We are astonished, O god of love, at your bravery, in that you lead us to death, although you possess neither an elephant which is eager for battle, nor an unrestrainable horse.' This is only a very simple and elementary example of the figure, which is sometimes carried to unbelievable lengths.

Wherever we look, we are confronted with different aspects of the ever-present love of co-ordination and combination, and the tendency to look on words as live and concrete objects which may be juggled with at will. Indeed, the right use of words is a means of reaching heaven with distinction, as indicated in Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha XIII: 'Those who use words rightly go to heaven in well-yoked chariots of harnessed speech. Those who speak haltingly must go on foot'.

JĪVA AND PARAMĀTMAN

Some observations on their unity in difference (bhedābheda) within the Vedānta

By OTTO STRAUSS

In Śaṃkara's Upadeśasāhasrī we have, besides the bhāṣyas, an independent treatise. The usual problem whether a work ascribed to the ācārya may be taken as genuine appears as solved by the fact that Sureśvara, supposed to be his direct disciple, quotes in his Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, 4, 20ff., several stanzas mainly from the 18th prakaraṇa of the Upadeśasāhasrī introducing them as coming from 'bhagavatpūjyapādāḥ'.[1]

Now in this 18th prakaraṇa of his Upadeśasāhasrī Śaṃkara, while explaining his ābhāsa theory with regard to brahman and jīva, briefly indicates some deviating opinions. Among them we find four which, keeping within the range of Vedānta, may be termed 'ekadeśimata' (one-sided doctrines), and these only shall be the object of our explanatory attempt leaving out of consideration the remaining ones which the commentator Rāmatīrtha (author of the Taraṅgiṇī against the critical dvaita work Nyāyāmṛta and supposed to be a pupil of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī) ascribes to the Bhāṭṭas and Bauddhas respectively.

The stanza in question, i.e. Upadeśasāhasrī, 18, 34-35:

saṃsārī ca sa ity cka ābhāso yas tv ahaṃkṛti |
vastuchāyā smṛter anyan mādhuryādi ca kāraṇam || 34
jñaikadeśo vikāro vā tadābhāsāśrayaḥ pare |
ahaṃkartaiva saṃsārī svatantra iti kecana || 35

Stanza 36 does not interest us here as it treats of the saṃtāna theory of the Buddhists, and also the last words of 35, for the doctrine which takes the jīva as 'svatantra' is outside the range of Vedānta, being ascribed by Rāmatīrtha to Kumārila. In 34 I read 'ahaṃkṛti' instead of 'ahaṃkṛtiḥ' as printed in the Nirṇayasāgara edition, Bombay, 1918.

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[1] There are the following quotations in Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, ch. 4, from Upadeśasāhasrī:

N. 20=U. 18, 78. 22-23=18, 96-97. 24=18, 99. 25=18, 101. 26=6, 1. 27=6, 3. 28=6, 2. 29=6, 4. 30=15, 16. 31-33=18, 190-192. 34-35=18, 147-175. 43=17, 26. 65-66=18, 231-232.

Translation and explanation of the two stanzas:

34. 'And some (believe) that the saṃsārin (sc. jīva) is just the reflection (of the paramātman) in the ahaṃkāra, i.e. it is a real shadow on account of the Smṛti, and another reason (for its reality) is its pleasantness, etc.'

35. 'According to others it is a part of the (highest) spirit or (its) modification (or) the saṃsārin is just the ahaṃkāra which forms the substratum for its (i.e. the highest spirit's) reflection (and) some (take the jīva) as self-dependent.'

So there are four different opinions upon the relation of the jīva to the paramātman. The first is described in st. 34, three others in 35, and all four stand in contradiction to Śaṃkara's advaita as, maintaining a real existence of the jīva, they discard his doctrine that in the highest sense the jīva is nothing but a product of avidyā through the adjuncts (upādhi). That these other teachers are true Vedāntins and, to a certain degree, Advaitins will be clear from the following discussions; they only lack Śaṃkara's absolute monism (atyantābheda) by teaching bhedābheda (unity in difference).

We now turn to the explanation of our stanzas with the help of Rāmatīrtha. In 34 we learn that the result of the reflection (ābhāsa) of brahman in the ahaṃkāra is not untrue but a real chāyā (shadow). Two arguments in favour of its reality are adduced. In the Smṛti (Manu, 4, 130; Yājñavalkya, 1, 152) the snātaka is cautioned against stepping on the shadow of images of the gods, of a priest, of a king, and so on. This prohibition is regarded as a conclusive proof of the shadow being a real thing, for otherwise one could not step on it. The second argument is the pleasantness experienced by a man sitting in the shade, and experience in itself is a trustworthy source of right knowledge. In 35 the second form of the relation in question is given by the word 'ekadeśa' which Rāmatīrtha illustrates by Gītā 15, 7: 'mamaivaṃśo jīvaloke jīvabhūtaḥ sanātanaḥ. . . .' To the third form indicated by the word 'vikāra' Rāmatīrtha quotes Bṛh. Up. 2, 1, 20: 'sa yathorṇanābhis tantunoccared yathāgneḥ kṣudrā visphuliṅgā vyuccaranty evam evāsmād ātmanaḥ sarve prāṇāḥ sarve lokāḥ sarve devāḥ sarvāni bhūtāni vyuccaranti. tasyopaniṣat satyasya satyam iti prāṇā vai satyaṃ teṣām eṣa satyam.' This well-known passage again proves the reality of the jīva which, emanating from brahman (satyasya satyam) as the threads from the spider or the small sparks from the fire, is itself satyam. The fourth form where jīva is the ahaṃkāra qualified by the reflection of brahman is illustrated by a passage (Chānd. Up., 6, 8, 2) not quite so clear in relation to our problem: 'sa yathā śakuniḥ sūtreṇa prabaddho diśaṃ diśaṃ patitvānyatrāyatanam alabdhvā prāṇam evopaśrayata evam eva khalu somya tanmano diśaṃ diśaṃ patitvānyatrāyatanam alabdhvā

prāṇam evopaśrayate prāṇabandhanaṃ hi somya mana iti.' Apparently the bird is jīva which is bound to its origin and, though flying about, is forced to go back to its origin, prāṇa here being meant for sat = brahman. Though the passage properly speaks of the dreaming condition it can be used in the sense that the jīva in its real wanderings remains bound to the paramātman to which it has to return at last.

In a general way Rāmatīrtha is justified in applying this Śruti text to our passage, for it shows the bheda in the wanderings of the jīva and the abheda in its necessary return to the paramātman, but the text is not to the point concerning the words in question 'tadābhāsāśrayaḥ. . . .ahaṃkartaiva'. Therefore I propose another explanation which is based on the usual antithesis of the two doctrines. Its pivot is the word 'ābhāsa' in compliance with Upadeśasāhasrī, 18, 48:

ātmābhāsāparijñānād yathātmyena vimohitāḥ |
ahaṃkartāram ātmeti manyante te nirāgamāḥ ||

The ahaṃkāra as a mode of the antaḥkaraṇa is constituted by avidyā. When it gets the light or reflection (ābhāsa) of the pure spirit (paramātman) it is called jīva (individual soul) which knows, acts and enjoys. Thus the ahaṃkāra being the substratum of the reflection of the highest is the transmigrating soul if we take the reflection as real according to the view of bhedābheda while according to Śaṃkara the reflection is a mere appearance, a metaphysical error produced by avidyā. There is therefore a slight difference from the foregoing stanza. In 34 the reflection itself represents the soul whereas here the substratum of the reflection, i.e. the ahaṃkāra, is regarded as the soul.

Thus all the four ekadeśimatas which Śaṃkara indicates in our two stanzas look upon the individual soul as partaking of the nature of the absolute and still having a real existence of its own in the intermediate state between origin and return. This is the bhedābheda view which according to the opinion of the majority of scholars to-day was also shared by the author of the Brahmasūtras. Therefore in order to grasp the entire meaning of our stanzas from Upadeśasāhasrī the reader will be helped by looking on some relevant Brahmasūtras; and Śaṃkara though everywhere maintaining his absolute monism as the last sense of such sūtras will be helpful in so far as he generally explains the bhedābheda view as pūrvapakṣa.

There are, however, two other helps. Prof. Hiriyanna [1] has the merit of having shown that we are not without some knowledge of the

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[1] Indian Antiquary, 53, (1924), pp. 77–86 and Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1925, pp. 439–450.

Vedāntin Bhartṛprapañca who, older than Śaṃkara, holds the bhedābheda view. He has been quoted by Śaṃkara and Sureśvara partly by name, partly according to Anandagiri. It is, however, irrelevant to our problem whether the doctrines ascribed to Bhartṛprapañca really belong to him as their value for us lies in the fact that they express an original bhedābheda view. The other help comes from the bhedābheda teacher Bhāskara whose bhāṣya (printed Chowkhamba S.S., vol. 20, 1915) seems to have appeared within the century after Śaṃkara. He often follows Śaṃkara very closely but when his bhedābheda view comes in conflict with Śaṃkara's monism he shows himself as his opponent. It would therefore be a confirmation of Śaṃkara's interpretation of those ideas which he considers as pūrvapakṣa if Bhāskara takes the sūtras in the same sense.

Before turning now to the Brahmasūtras where we shall find different similes to illustrate the relation between jīva and brahman we refer to a passage in Sureśvara's Vārttika to Śaṃkara's Bṛhadāraṇyakabhāṣya (st. 948–950 ĀSS., p. 623f.) to which Hiriyanna has drawn attention. In this passage Sureśvara indicates four types of the relation in question, namely 1. sāmānya-viśeṣa, 2. avasthāvat-avasthā, 3. kārya-kāraṇa, 4. bhāga-bhāgin.

Taking up the sūtras we have the very clear one, 3, 2, 27: 'ubhayavyapadeśāt tu ahikuṇḍalavat'. The twofold designation refers to the fact acknowledged by Śaṃkara and confirmed by Bhāskara that there are Śruti passages for the unity as well as for the difference of jīva and paramātman. The difference is proved by passages like Muṇḍ. Up., 3, 1, 8 'taṃ paśyate niṣkalaṃ dhyāyamānaḥ' where Bhāskara recognizes the subject-object relation while the unity is testified by the mahāvākyas 'tat tvam asi' or 'ahaṃ brahmāsmi'. Concerning the simile both commentators agree. With Śaṃkara the serpent represents the abheda, its coils, hood, and erect posture the bheda aspect, while Bhāskara declares the serpent as paramātman and the coils as jīva. Concerning the type of the simile Śaṃkara says, ad Br. Sū. 3, 2, 29, that the jīva is here a state (saṃsthāna) of the highest soul which would correspond to Sureśvara's category avasthāvat-avasthā.

A kind of application of 3, 2, 2f. can be observed in 1, 4, 20 where the sūtrakāra expresses the opinion of Aśmarathya that the fulfilment of the promissory statement 'ātmani vijñāte sarvam idaṃ vijñātaṃ bhavati' (cp. Chānd. Up., 6, 1) is possible only if the relation between vijñānātman and paramātman is taken in its unity-aspect (abhedāṃśa). This expression used by both commentators shows that there are two equally possible aspects (aṃśa) of the relation in question, abheda in our passage, bheda in other

śruti texts. Vācaspati in his Bhāmatī illustrates the case by the simile of the fire and its sparks and explains it in the sense that the sparks cannot be absolutely different from the fire because they partake of its nature, and they cannot be identical with it because otherwise they could not be distinguished. In this explanation he calls the sparks modifications (vikārāḥ) of the fire and the jīvas modifications of brahman. The term vikāra occurs, as we have seen, in Upadeśasāhasrī, 18, 35 and has been used by Rāmatīrtha in his comment thereon in connection with the simile in question. Now the concept vikāra belongs to the pariṇāmavāda which is alluded to in Bhāskara's comment on Br. Sū. 1, 4, 25 (Ś. 26): 'paramātmā svayam ātmānaṃ kāryatvena pariṇamayāmāsa' (the wording similar to Śaṃkara's). Thus the simile would belong to the type kārya-kāraṇa, but soon we will learn that our commentators take it, on another occasion, as belonging to the type bhāga-bhāgin. This shows the possibility of interchanging the types.

An alternative to the serpent comparison of Br. Sū. 3, 2, 27 is given by 3, 2, 28: Jīva and paramātman are related to each other as the light of the sun to its substratum, i.e. the sun itself, both having in common the quality of light (tejastva). This simile is understood by Śaṃkara at 3, 2, 29, in the sense of the whole and its parts (ekadeśa) though the idea of pariṇāma also seems to be applicable. The simile of the sun and its light appears akin to the ābhāsa theory in the bhedābheda sense where the light from brahman has its own reality.

An important statement of bhedābheda is further expressed by the sūtrakāra in Br. Sū. 2, 3, 43–45: The jīva is a part (aṃśa) of the paramātman as proved by Veda and Smṛti. Śaṃkara, though acknowledging that we here have the bhedābheda view, cannot restrain himself from alluding to his own standpoint even in the pūrvapakṣa through modifying the word aṃśa by iva. It is, however, quite evident from Bhāskara's comment that in the opinion of the bhedābheda teachers the jīva is not a part 'as it were'. Sureśvara in his Vārttika, l.c., also adds to the type bhāga-bhāgin the comparison of the wheel and its parts which, though referring to the relation of brahman and jagat according to Ānandagiri, includes the jīva as we may safely assume on account of Śaṃkara's remarks at Br. Sū. 2, 3, 44. The idea of parts is illustrated by Śaṃkara and Bhāskara alike by the simile of the fire and the sparks which has been already discussed above. On this occasion Bhāskara first explains the meaning of the word aṃśa itself. He turns aside the meaning of cause in the sense of the threads which as the parts of the cloth are the material cause of its production, and also in the sense of membership in a group. According to him aṃśa here means the

jīva as limited by the adjuncts but not changed in its fundamental nature. To the leading simile of the fire and the sparks he adds others as the relation between the entire ākāśa and the ākāśa limited by an earthen vessel or by the cavity of the ear, between vāyu and the fivefold prāṇa, between manas and its functions. All this serves to illustrate the possibility of the idea of parts in the absolute which is without parts.

The Vedic mantra which according to Śaṃkara, at Br. Sū. 2, 3, 44, confirms the part idea comes from the Puruṣasūkta (ṚV., 10, 90, 3) quoted in Chānd. Up., 3, 12, 6: 'pādo'sya sarvā (ṚV. viśvā) bhūtāni tripād asyāmṛtaṃ divi.' This one quarter includes, according to Śaṃkara, all moving and non-moving things among which the souls occupy the first place. The same ancient mantra is quoted, at Br. Sū. 4, 4, 19, where, however, the accent lies on the hidden three quarters (vikārāvarti).

Finally, the Smṛti also corroborates the concept of part as declared by Br. Sū. 2, 3, 45. This refers, according to the commentators, to Bhagavadgītā, 15, 7, where the Lord says: 'An eternal part (aṃśa) of me becomes the individual soul in the world of life'. In his Śārīrakabhāṣya Śaṃkara says that the relation of part and whole goes here together with that of ruler and ruled (īśitṛ-īśitavyam) and adds: Nor is there anything contradictory in assuming that the Lord who is provided with superexcellent limiting adjuncts (niratiśaya-upādhisampanna) rules the souls which are connected with inferior adjuncts only (cf. Śaṃkara at Bṛh. Up. 3, 8, 12). Thus Śaṃkara here transfers the aṃśa problem to the relation of īśvara and jīva avoiding the difficulty of the soul being a part of the absolute because the division of soul, īśvara, and world belongs to the realm of avidyā, and he is justified to do so because īśvara in the form of Kṛṣṇa is the speaker in the Gītā. Kṛṣṇa's word in Gītā, 10, 42, that he is maintaining the world with only one part of his (ekāṃśena) is to be understood in the same sense. Though the allusion to the Puruṣasūkta discussed above is acknowledged in the Gītābhāśya attributed to Śaṃkara by putting ekapādena besides ekāṃśena there is no need to add iva as it is here only īśvara whose parts are the souls.

At the end of our selection from the Brahmasūtras we put the explanation of Aṇḍulomi's opinion in Br. Sū. 1, 4, 21. Whereas in the passages discussed up to now the relation between the individual and the highest soul was generally considered in such a way that the origin *from the absolute* bore the accent, our passage, on the other hand, looks upon the *merging into* the absolute when the soul will depart from the body. Thus Śaṃkara gives, besides Chānd. Up. 8, 12, 3 ('that serene being arising from this body appears in

its own form as soon as it has approached the highest light'), the often-used simile of the rivers disappearing into the ocean and losing therein their name and form (Muṇḍ. Up. 3, 2, 8). This simile clearly emphasizes the individuality of the jīvas as long as they have not reached brahman. But this is not all. Śaṃkara explains that the soul, having become turbid (kaluṣībhūta) by its adjuncts, needs the instrument of knowledge (jñāna) and meditation (dhyāna) for the serenity which will enable it to become one with the highest self when passing at some future time out of the body.

Here we have a twofold observation to make. The qualification of the souls being soiled by the body seems to me to give a special emphasis to their separation from the highest though the reality of the adjuncts is a standing feature of bhedābheda. Another important shade appears in the demand for jñāna and dhyāna (Bhāskara adds samādhi) whereas Śaṃkara in his Upadeśasāhasrī, 18, 19–25, expressly refutes the demand of meditation (prasaṃkhyāna). In spite of these two moments Śaṃkara, when summing up Aṇḍulomi's point of view, says at Br. Sū. 1, 4, 22 that it clearly implies that the difference and non-difference (bhedābhedan) depend on difference of condition (avasthā, cp. the types of Sureśvara above). Our impression that we here are at least on the border of the bhedābheda doctrine is being confirmed by several authors. Bhāskara says that the jīva here is absolutely different (atyantabhinna) from the paramātman. Ānandagiri declares that the non-difference is here to be effected (sādhya) and not belonging to the nature (svabhāva) of the jīvas. Thibaut (translation, 1, 278, n. 1), probably from oral information, calls Aṇḍulomi's doctrine satyabheda (real difference). And this is corroborated by a stanza quoted by Vācaspati in his Bhāmatī and by Bhāskara in his Sūtrabhāṣya as from the Pañcarātrikas:

ā mukter bheda eva syāj jīvasya ca parasya ca ।
muktasya ca na bhedo 'sti bhedahetor abhāvataḥ ॥

There is, of course, a way to reconcile the different opinions: the one lays the stress on the difference between the jīvas and the paramātman in life, the other on the possible unity after life.

Thus we have seen that the sūtrakāra has given ample opportunity to discuss the bhedābheda view. But apart from the sūtras Śaṃkara was interested in this view as can be seen not only in his independent Upadeśasāhasrī but also in his bhāṣya to Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad where he sometimes introduces a refutation of this standpoint without being compelled to do so by the śruti text itself. On this occasion I may express my belief in the attribution of this bhāṣya to the ācārya. The belief is based on the general parallelity

of treatment of quotations from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka in the Sūtrabhāṣya and the Upaniṣadbhāṣya, and on some single observations among which I only want to indicate Sureśvara's confirmation in his Vārttika, 6, 5, 25 and the passage in Bhāmatī, at Br. Sū. Bh. 3, 3, 6, where Vācaspati seems to have leaned upon Śaṃkarabhāṣya, at Bṛh. Up., 1, 3, 1. Thus we take Śaṃkara as the probable author of Bṛhadāraṇyakabhāṣya in which we find several passages on bhedābheda worth quoting in connection with our problem.

In his bhāṣya, at Bṛh. Up. 5, 1, 1, Śaṃkara tells us (with regard to Bhratṛprapañca according to Ānandagiri) with the intention to refute it: '. . . thus the one brahman has got a dualistic as well as a monistic aspect (dvaitādvaitātmakam). For instance, the ocean consists of water, waves, foam, bubbles, etc. As the water is real and the waves, originating from it while sharing the nature of the ocean and being qualified by appearance and disappearance, are absolutely real (paramārthasatyāḥ), in the same way this whole dualistic world is absolutely real, it corresponds to the waves, etc. on the water while the highest brahman stands for the ocean water . . . .' A difference of condition only is clearly meant here, so we have a fine bhedābheda view of the type avasthāvat-avasthā like the simile of the serpent and its coils in Br. Sū. 3, 2, 27. Though our passage is meant for the relation of brahman and the entire kosmos we take the jīvas as included, for we remember that Śaṃkara, at Br. Sū. 2, 3, 44, explained sarvā bhūtāni as moving and non-moving things among which the souls occupy the first place.

Another passage in Śaṃkara's bhāśya, at Bṛh. Up. 4, 3, 30, gives us a new comparison for both aspects of the absolute (ekatva and nānatva) which Ānandagiri again attributes to Bhartṛprapañca: '. . . . as a cow is one as a substance (godravyatayā) and there is difference as regards its qualities (dharma), the dewlap, etc. As there is unity and manifoldness in gross things (sthūleṣu) so unity and manifoldness is to be inferred for formless substances without parts.' This passage, however, is not directly applicable to our problem as the context does not deal with the relation between the individual and the highest soul but between the soul and its faculties of vision, etc. Still we may consider it at least as a good parallel, for Śaṃkara's refutation takes a parallel line of argument in both cases: 'The ātman's natural self-luminous intelligence manifests itself in the waking and dreaming states through many limiting adjuncts such as the eyes, etc. and comes to be designated as vision, etc.' A direct application, however, would not be possible, for the brahman cannot be a sāmānya in the logical sense of the term. There we get help from Sureśvara's Vārttika, 1, 4, 984, where the sāmānyas (i.e. the jīvas) and the viśeṣas (i.e. the functions of the jīva) are

united according to Bhartṛprapañca in the whole (kṛtsnam) which is parabrahman.

At last we may mention a passage of Śaṃkara's bhāṣya, at Bṛh. Up. 3, 8, 12, where he indicates three different opinions of some one-sided Vedāntins. The first uses the simile of ocean and waves: The highest brahman, the akṣara, is the great ocean without motion (apracalitasvarūpa). Then follows the slightly agitated state (avasthā) which is called antaryāmin (inner ruler). Thirdly we have the kṣetrajña (individual soul) which is represented by the extremely agitated state of the great ocean. Then follow further states which we need not consider here. According to the second opinion these states are to be regarded as powers (śakti) of the akṣara while the third opinion calls them modifications (vikāra). All these forms are not declined by Śaṃkara as such, for he is ready to speak of the akṣara, the antaryāmīśvara, and the saṃsārī jīvaḥ (kṣetrajña above) with the usual reservation that all these seemingly different states or grades are only due to the limiting adjuncts. Intrinsically there is neither difference nor identity among them, for they are by nature pure intelligence homogeneous like a lump of salt.

Looking back on the foregoing discussions about the selected passages on bhedābheda from the Brahmasūtras, and Śaṃkara's comment on them and on Bṛhadāraṇyaka with the explanations of Ānandagiri, Vācaspati, and Sureśvara we find that the ideas circle round a number of similes destined to illustrate, by a concrete picture, the relation between the individual and the highest soul. But illustration is not definition, and this is the reason why the relations which result from a strict interpretation of the similes can be only looked upon with a certain reserve. It has also to be kept in mind that the similes often have been handed down from ancient times where later problems were not yet thought of. Unfortunately, it is frequently impossible to ascertain whether a simile is from the old stock or a new invention. The fact that a simile is not extant in the preserved Upaniṣads is no proof for its being not as old as an identified one, for we are sure that our Upaniṣads are but a remnant of a much more vast literature. Besides this the philological apparatus which would enable us to state the history of a simile in the literature after the Upaniṣads is still lacking.

Under these circumstances the attempt to draw some conclusions from the nature of the similes which have occurred in our discussion can be only made in a tentative manner. Nevertheless, certain observations will be possible. Thus we are sure of the high antiquity of the idea that only a quarter (pāda) of the divinity is contained in the visible world because the quotation comes from the Puruṣasūkta of the Ṛgveda. This is a proof, if proof indeed be needed, for

the possible use of a still crude idea in a more developed sphere of thought. Apparently the idea of part (aṃśa) which is quoted from the Gītā forms a continuance of this ancient conception while the soul is now conceived in a new sense. On the other hand, the idea has lost its ancient concreteness, and is somewhat vague as regards its doctrinal value. However, the ideas of pāda or aṃśa are more statements than comparisons. When we turn to the real similes we find a wide range of possibilities of interpretation. The simile of the fire and the sparks can be looked upon in different ways. If interpreted in the light of the pariṇāmavāda the sparks are the modifications (vikāra) of the kāraṇa fire, or it may be taken, as we have seen, in the sense of the whole and its parts, and in this interpretation the comparison characterizes the part idea more distinctly. That the sparks are real entities in spite of their common origin makes the simile apt for bhedābheda but the uncertainty of their fate after extinction—it is not said that they fall back into the fire and practically they need not—is a defect of the simile. Just the other way lies the defect of the Upaniṣad simile of the rivers, for though they here have a common end they are absolutely independent as to their origin. More satisfying in the doctrinal way seem two other similes which, as far as I know, are not in the Upaniṣads: the serpent and its coils (used by the sūtrakāra, 3, 2, 27), and the ocean and its waves (used by Bhartṛprapañca). In both instances there is only a difference of state in or a modification of the common substratum so that origin and end are equally considered.

Thus we see how the types of Sureśvara shown above get their application to the similes we had occasion to quote. The types bhāga-bhāgin and avasthāvāt-avasthā appear to be the most usual. Kārya-kāraṇa has to be taken in the sense of pariṇāma, and sāmānya-viśeṣa cannot be employed directly on account of brahman not being a sāmānya in the logical sense of the word.

If we apply the results of our consideration to the stanzas of Upadeśasāhasrī quoted in the beginning the ideas of aṃśa and vikāra are well illustrated. The chāyā simile is quite clear and appears to be not very distant from a real abheda while the statement of the ahaṃkāra as jīva as long as it receives the light or reflection (ābhāsa) of the highest seems more distant.

Thus we have seen that the similes and statements expressing the relation of the individual and the highest soul in the sense of unity in difference cover a wide area between a full dvaita and a strict advaita. This wavering may have not only characterized the single advocates of the bhedābheda doctrine but may also have occurred within the individual systems according to the wants of the occasion. The more the religious side was kept in view the more

the idea of difference will have prevailed, for worship of the divinity demands a clear separation of adorer and adored in this life. If, on the other hand, the theoretical or philosophical side came to be considered the stress will have been on the idea of unity, and this would, of course, always be in the background even in devotion.

We venture to think that Śaṃkara's distinction between parā and aparā vidyā was no more than a systematizing of these two views. It was in this way that he succeeded in making the uncompromising advaita of Gauḍapāda practicable for the many while in its original form it is naturally restricted to the few. By reducing the difference to the every-day experience of the adjuncts which all are originated by nescience he preserved the absolute unity and still remained able reasonably to explain the sūtrakāra's utterances about bhedābheda.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF GOVINDA III OF THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA DYNASTY

By A. S. ALTEKAR, *Benares Hindu University*

Govinda III was undoubtedly one of the ablest rulers of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty. He succeeded to the throne towards the end of 793 A.D. Soon after his accession his elder brother Stambha Raṇāvaloka rebelled against him in order to establish his claim to the throne, which had been set aside by his father. Govinda, however, put down the rebellion and defeated the confederacy of twelve kings which had been formed in order to support it. After his own position on the throne had become secure, he is known to have defeated, either once or more than once, the Gaṅgas and the Pallavas of the south, the Chālukyas of Vengi in the east and the Mālava and Gūrjara kings in the north. From the Sanjan plates issued by his son Amoghavarsha I we further learn that Dharmapāla of Bengal and Chakrāyudha of Kanauj had submitted to him in the course of his northern campaign and that the caves of the Himalayas had reverberated on that occasion with the echo of his horses' trampling. Even after making all allowance for the poetic exaggeration in the last statement, it becomes clear that the armies of Govinda, like those of his father Dhruva, had penetrated into the Ganga-Yamunā Doab and even marched further northwards in the course of his northern expedition.

To settle the chronology of these campaigns is, however, a difficult and thorny question. In my book on '*The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*' I had suggested the following chronology on the strength of the evidence then available (see pp. 62–69) :—

The rebellion and overthrow of Stambha ..	*c.* 795-6 A.D.
The rebellion and re-imprisonment of the Gaṅga king	*c.* 798
The defeat of the Pallavas	*c.* 802
The defeat of the Chālukyas of Vengi ..	*c.* 806
Expedition in northern India	*c.* 807-8 A.D.
Second expedition against the Dravidian confederacy	*c.* 808-810 A.D.
Death of Govinda	814 A.D.

While editing two new copperplates from Berar issued by Govinda III (*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 215ff.) Prof. Mirashi has

observed that the above chronology must now be revised. He holds that the Maṇṇe plates of Stambha Raṇāvaloka, the elder brother of Govinda III, were really issued in 802 A.D., and since they mention the defeat of the Gurjara king, we have to conclude that most of the conquests of Govinda III were made during the first seven or eight years of his reign.

If we leave aside the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I, all our information of the conquests of Govinda III is to be gathered from a stereotyped description of his achievements given in as many as ten charters issued by him or his feudatories. There is hardly any change introduced in this description in these ten charters. Since the first of them, the Maṇṇe plates, were issued as early as 802 A.D., Prof. Mirashi concludes that all these exploits must have been achieved before that date. But none of them is mentioned in the Paithan plates issued in May 794 A.D. during the first year of his reign. It would therefore appear plausible to argue that all the military campaigns of Govinda were finished in the first seven or eight years of his reign.

There are however certain grave difficulties in accepting this view. Seven or eight years is too short a period for these campaigns. Between the middle of 794 A.D and the end of 802 A.D. we shall have to crowd the following events: the rebellion of Stambha with the assistance of 12 kings, and its frustration, the release, the rebellion and the re-imprisonment of the Gaṅga king, the submission of the king of Mālava and the defeat of the Gurjara king, the defeat of the Pallava king, the overthrow of the Veṅgi ruler, the reduction of the princes in central India, the advance into the Doab and the defeat of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha, and a second invasion of the south to overthrow the Dravidian confederacy. If we consider the conditions of the roads and the means of transport and communications in these days, it will at once appear clear to us that so many campaigns could not possibly have been carried out in the short space of seven or eight years.

On a reconsideration of all the evidence now available, I am inclined to think that this mystery can be solved only on two hypotheses, viz. that the Maṇṇe plates were really not issued in the year 802 A.D. when they purport to be issued and that the stereotyped description of Govinda's exploits, which is given in that charter and repeated in nine more of his grants, does not describe that famous campaign of his in northern India, in the course of which he defeated Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha and marched right up to the Himalayas. We shall consider the evidence in favour of the above propositions now.

If we carefully examine the Maṇṇe plates of Stambha, it at once becomes clear that they were not really issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Mārgaśīrsha of the Śaka year 724, when they purport to have been given. In the first place there was no lunar eclipse on the said date in that year: this becomes quite clear if we refer to *Indian Ephemeris* of D. B. Swamikannu Pillai. Secondly the plates themselves state that they were issued after the necessary sanction of the emperor Govinda III was received by the grantor, his elder brother and feudatory, Stambha.[1] This permission must have taken a considerable time. Govinda was busy with a number of campaigns far and near, and his relations with his elder brother could not have been so cordial as to procure an immediate permission, when we remember that Stambha had recently rebelled against him. The two brothers had been, no doubt, reconciled after the rebellion was crushed, as is clear from the fact that Stambha was re-appointed to the governorship of Gaṅgawāḍī; but their relations could hardly have been cordial. And human nature being what it is, it is difficult to imagine that the stereotyped *praśasti* eulogizing Govinda's exploits could have first been prepared at the order of Stambha, since it specifically describes the overthrow of the confederacy of the 12 kings which he had formed in order to wrest the crown from Govinda. The *praśasti* must obviously have been composed by the panegyrists of Govinda himself as is quite clear from the fact that it can suit the charters issued only by him.[2] Later on it was forwarded to Stambha for being incorporated in his charter, when the latter asked the permission of the imperial government to grant away the village mentioned in the Maṇṇe charter.

Govinda III himself uses this stereotyped draft for the first time in his Nesari plates issued in January 806 A.D[3] (*Pausha vadya* 13 of the Śaka year 727 expired). This *praśasti* was composed with great care and must have first received the approval of the emperor before it was sanctioned to be used in his charters; it could not have been prepared at the orders of Stambha and been first used in a

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[1] तेन श्रीकंभदेवेन रणावलोकापरनाम्ना राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीप्रभूतवर्षानुज्ञानुमतेन....।

—*Ep. Car.*, Vol. IX, p. 53.

[2] After describing Govinda's exploits, the last verse states :—

तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चञ्चलमवलोक्य जीवितमसारम् ।
क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यं प्रवर्तितं देवभोगाय ॥

Then we have

स च परमभट्टारक...गोविन्दराजदेवः । भ्राताभूत्तस्य शक्तित्रयनमितभुवः शौचकंभाभिधानः ज्येष्ठः...।
तेन शौचकंभदेवेन....

[3] Khare, *Sources of Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 13.

grant given by him. We have therefore to conclude that it could not have been available to Stambha before it was used by Govinda himself early in 806 A.D. It would appear that in the winter of Śaka 702 on the occasion of a lunar eclipse Stambha had promised to grant a village to the Jain Basadi at Maṇṇe, subject to the sanction being received from Govinda III. No sanction however was received from Govinda for a long time, firstly because he was engaged in his campaigns and secondly because the necessary *praśasti* was not ready. It would appear that this permission was obtained as late as the winter of the Śaka year 730 or 731. In each of these years there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Pausha; while the formal portion of the grant of Stambha was being composed, this lunar eclipse was fresh in the mind of the composer. He therefore by mistake transferred the lunar eclipse of the month of Mārgaśīrsha to the month Pausha in the Śaka year 724 also, when the promise to grant the village had been given by Stambha.

The above discussion will show that the evidence of the Maṇṇe plates of Stambha is not at all sufficient to prove that all the conquests of Govinda III mentioned in them were really over before the end of 802 A.D. The earliest genuine record of Govinda, where these exploits are described, is the Nesari grant issued by him in January 806 A.D. We have therefore to conclude that the conquests mentioned in the Maṇṇe plates were over not before 802 A.D. but before the beginning of 806 A.D.

Does the description of the achievements of Govinda, first given in his Nesari plates, include an account of his famous northern expedition in the course of which he subdued both Dharmapāla of Bengal and Chakrāyudha of Kanauj? I now think that it does not. A perusal of this draft, which is repeated later in nine other grants, shows that the poet who has composed the *praśasti* has arranged the campaigns in the chronological order. The first two verses (beginning with *tasmin svargavibhūshaṇāya* and *yenātyantadayālunā* respectively) refer to the rebellion and defeat of Stambha and his confederacy and the release and the re-imprisonment of the Gaṅga ruler. These events are known to have occurred in the beginning of his reign. The third verse (beginning with *Sandhāyāśuśilīmukhān*) refers to the flight of the Gurjara king and the fourth verse (beginning with *yatpādānatimātra-*) describes the voluntary submission of the ruler of Mālava. The next verse (beginning with *Vindhyādreḥ kaṭake*) refers to the king's sojourn on the slopes of the Vindhya mountain and the one thereafter (beginning with *Nītvā Śrībhavane*) describes his lightning attack on the Pallava king at the beginning of the winter. The *praśasti* closes with a glowing account of the defeat and humiliation of the Chālukya ruler of Vengi.

It is quite clear from the arrangement of the events in this *praśasti* that when at the beginning of his reign Govinda was engaged in crushing the rebellion of his brother and the Gaṅga ruler in the south, the Gurjara king Nāgabhaṭa sent an army to invade his kingdom from the north. This was intended to be a retaliation for the defeat inflicted by the Rāshṭrakūṭas on the Gurjaras in the earlier reign. Govinda had to march to the north to meet the invasion, and he merely drove out the Gurjara forces. The verse in the *praśasti*, which refers to this incident, merely states that the Gurjara king ran away one knew not where.[1] It does not refer to the pursuit of the Gurjara king or the advance of the Rāshṭrakūṭa armies into the Doab. The poet, who has composed this *praśasti*, narrates the details of the spectacular victory of Govinda's father Dhruva over Vatsarāja, the father of Nāgabhaṭa[2]; he describes in glowing terms how Dhruva snatched away the white parasol of the Gauda king from Vatsarāja, who had won it in an earlier victory over the Gauda king. If Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha had already submitted to Govinda and his armies had reached the Himalayas when the stereotyped account of the Nesari plates was composed some time in 805 A.D., one cannot understand why these events should not have been specifically mentioned in it. The *praśasti* does not fail to mention the submission of a petty mountain chief like Mārāśarva; why then should it keep silent over the overthrow of such a powerful ruler like Dharmapāla? If before January 806 A.D. Govinda had already penetrated into the Doab and reached the feet of the Himalayas after overthrowing Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha,—as we know he did on one occasion from the account preserved in the Sanjan plates of his son,—would he ever have approved a draft of his *praśasti* which did not specifically mention these brilliant feats?

It would appear that Govinda III had to fight with the northern powers two times. The first occasion was early in his reign when he merely repulsed a Gurjara invasion; the Gurjara king retired one knew not where. At this time Govinda was too much preoccupied with his south Indian commitments to pursue his victories further. When the Gurjara army was repulsed, he hurried to the south and defeated the Pallavas of Kanchi and the Chālukyas of Vengi. When

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1 सर्वं क्षेमसुदीक्ष्य यं शरदृतुं पर्जन्यवद्गूर्जरो ।
नष्टः क्वापि भयात्तथा न समरं स्वप्नेऽपि पश्येद्यथा ॥ *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 209.

2 हेलास्वीकृतगौडराजकमलामत्तं प्रवेश्याचिरात् ।
दुर्मार्गं मरुमध्यमप्रतिबलैर्यो वत्सराजं बलैः ॥
गौडीयं शरदिन्दुपादधवलं छत्रद्वयं केवलं ।
तस्मान्नाहृत तद्यशोऽपि ककुभां प्रान्ते स्थितं तत्क्षणे ॥ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-8.

he felt sure that there would be no further trouble in the south, and when his treasury had become replenished by war booties and indemnities, he planned a grand offensive expedition in northern India in emulation of his father's exploits there. The time of this expedition seems to have been some time after 808 or 809 A.D. Considering the magnitude and the achievements of this expedition, it would appear that it must have taken about two years. When he returned from the north, he had once more to attack a confederacy of Dravidian kings in the south, who had organized a rebellion against him during his absence from the south. Soon after this southern expedition, during the course of which the king of Ceylon seems to have made overtures for his friendship, Govinda died. He had not the necessary leisure to engage the services of a new poet to describe his fresh sensational victories both in the north and the south. It was left for his son Amoghavarsha to rescue from oblivion his father's memorable achievements in northern and southern India during the concluding portion of his reign, when he ordered the composition of the *praśasti* incorporated in his Sanjan charter.

The revised chronology of the campaigns of Govinda III should, therefore, be as follows:—

1.	The rebellion and defeat of Stambha ..	*c.* 795-6
2.	The release and re-imprisonment of the Gaṅga king	*c.* 798
3.	The first war with Pallava king ..	*c.* 802
4.	The war with the Chālukyas of Vengi	*c.* 804
5.	The reduction of the kings in central India	*c.* 808
6.	The campaign in the Doab and beyond, and the defeat of Dharmapāla, Chakrāyudha and Nāgabhaṭa ..	*c.* 809-10
7.	The campaign against the Dravidian confederacy	*c.* 812
8.	The death of Govinda III ..	*c.* 814

KAVĪNDRĀCĀRYA SARASVATĪ

By V. RAGHAVAN

Few Hindus there will be whose souls are so dead as not to feel a thrill as they contemplate upon the heroic leadership of some of the eminent Paṇḍitas and Sannyāsins of Benares in the cause of the Hindu religion in the times of its persecution by the Mogul Kings. The most eminent among these Paṇḍitas was Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭa who rebuilt the temple of Viśveśvara which was demolished by the Muslims. Two outstanding personalities among the Sannyāsins in Benares in those times were Nṛsimhāśrama and Kavīndrācārya sarasvatī. The former is not so well known as the latter but it was he, Nṛsimhāśrama, who set the example of appealing to the Mogul emperor to put a stop to the slaughter of cows and the imposing of the pilgrim tax at Hindu pilgrim centres. It is said that the Mahā Pāduṣa, the Mogul emperor, hearing of Nṛsimhāśrama's greatness paid him a visit and on that occasion acceded to the saint's request to repeal the anti-Hindu measures. The Mogul emperor, it is added, gave Nṛsimhāśrama a big recurring grant of money for distribution among the pilgrims who bathed in the holy waters freed from the tax. Nṛsimhāśrama worked similar wonders in the South also, and in their gratefulness and joy, a large number of poets and scholars of his time presented addresses to him, eulogizing his services to the Hindu community. These addresses were collected by Nṛsimhāśrama's pupil, Saccidānandāśrama, in the form of the anthology, the Nṛsimha sarvasva kāvya, a MS. of which is described by MM. Haraprasad Sastri in Vol. IV of his Descriptive Catalogues of the Asiatic Society, Bengal. From one of the verses here (p. 83), we understand that Nṛsimhāśrama was a contemporary of Akbar. It is in the footsteps of this leader that Kavīndrācārya followed during the times of Shah Jehan. Kavīndrācārya has come to be better known because of the valuable MSS. library he maintained in Benares and also because, the book of addresses presented to him, the Kavindra candrodaya, has luckily been studied by some scholars. In 1912, MM. Haraprasad Sastri gave a short account of Kavīndrācārya (henceforth written as K) in the Indian Antiquary, XLI, pp. 11-12, and in 1928, his ASB Catalogue, IV, drew again the attention of scholars to the personality of K. Much could not be added by Dr. MM. Jha, Mr. R. A. Sastri and Mr. Shrigondekar in the GOS edition of the List of K's MSS. Dr. Har Dutt Sharma then took up the subject with a review of the contents

of the Kavīndracandrodaya (KC) in the MM. Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume in 1935, and the same scholar together with Mr. Patkar of the B.O.R.I., Poona, has, now made available to us an edition of the KC.[1] It is my desire to note in this article a few facts about the hero, K, gleaned from a study of the KC.

The real name of K

Scholars have said that the real name of K is not known. His real name is Kṛṣṇa or some sannyāsic appellation of which the important part was Kṛṣṇa. In an address of nine verses which Muralīdhara, grandson of Kālidāsa Miśra read, verse five runs thus:

भट्टो नारायणस्साक्षात् पुरासीच्छङ्करः शिवः ।
तथैवात्र स्वयं कृष्णः कवीन्द्रस्वामिदण्डधृक् ॥ (Śl. 123, p. 17, KC)

The poet says here that God Nārāyaṇa Himself became, in the past, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, and Śiva Himself Bhaṭṭa Śaṅkara, and that similarly God Kṛṣṇa Himself has become Kavīndra now. The two personalities referred to in the first line are the great Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and his second son Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa who dominated Benares life before K. In both their cases the poet uses the very names of the persons to refer to the deities also, and in the case of K also, it is natural to expect the name Kṛṣṇa to mean both the personality eulogized and the deity. If this is not so, I do not see any point in the verse.

But Mr. G. K. Shrigondekar says in the postscript to the Introduction in the GOS edition of the K List, that Nṛsimhāśrama seems to be the real name of K in his caturthāśrama. And he relies for this on a passage extracted by him from K's Kavīndrakalpadruma, but as noticed by him also on the very next page, there are only asterisks in the important part of this passage. It is true that verse 169 of the KC mentions Dara Shikoh as having been captivated by the personality of K, but we cannot yet say that the Nṛsimhāśrama whom Dara salutes according to Mr. Shrigondekar is K.[2]

The titles

The title 'Indra', i.e. the whole title 'Kavīndra' must have been given to our hero by Shah Jehan as can be gathered from the

[1] Poona Oriental Series No. 60, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1939.

[2] We hear of a Nṛsimhāśrama in Benares at whose instance the polymath Mahīdhara, an elder contemporary of K, wrote his commentary on the Rāma gītā in A.D. 1604 at Benares.

first half of verse 118 of the KC.[1] This title must have been given even in the very first interview K had with the King (prathama prayāṇa samaye).

His native place

The Kavīndrakalpadruma mentions K's native place as Puṇyabhūmi on the banks of the Godāvarī. The opinion of Mr. Shrigondekar that 'paṇyabhūmi' meaning 'market place' is the correct reading. has to be rejected. For we find in verse 142 on p. 19, of the KC, Paṭṭavardhana Mahādeva, to whose community of Deccani Mahrattas perhaps Kavīndra also belonged[2], mentions K's native place as 'Puṇya'—'Puṇyanāmāryadhāmā'.

How he won the good opinion of Shah Jehan

It has been stated by scholars that K led a deputation of Paṇḍitas to Agra for getting the pilgrim taxes abolished. This would not seem to be the case if we carefully go through the addresses in the KC. Poet Tvaritakavirāya describes how K remained standing day after day at the door of the king

—कवीन्द्रो जयति परमुदे प्रत्यहं द्वारि साहेः ।

In his third verse Pūrṇānanda brahmacārin says (p. 16) that for some time K was regularly calling on the King, daily expounding to him the Hindu scriptures, and that K was finally able to effect a hear-change in the emperor.

दिल्लीश्वरस्य निगमागमशास्त्रबुद्धा संबोधयन् प्रतिदिनं त्रिजगत्कवीन्द्रः ।

In his first verse (p. 9) Keśava Miśra also points out that K won the heart of the king by his sweet exposition. And from the single verse of Nīlakaṇṭha (p. 13) we learn that it was the Bhāṣya (of Śaṇkara) that K expounded to Shah Jehan. Dara also attended these expositions as is plain from the verse of Hīrarāma kavi (p. 23). The second verse of the same poet says that in the court which applauded K, there were sitting Muslim nobles and chiefs from Kasmir, Irak, Multan, Khandahar, Kabul etc. and Moguls, Arabs, Turks as also Pharangis, i.e. Portugese, etc.

Though pleased with K, Shah Jehan first tried to evade the purpose for which K had gone to him. Shah Jehan tried to send him back with large money presents. Kṣemānanda Vājapeyin extols in his third verse that K sternly refused to be tempted by

1 The first word of this verse refers to the Goddess and must be separated from the following compound. In verse 142 also (p. 19) K is described as a devotee of Kāmākṣī, which deity might have been his Upāsanā devatā. The editors' correction suggested for 'Srī' in this verse is unnecessary.

2 As has been pointed out by Mr. Shrigondekar.

these presents and insisted on the only gift from the king that he wanted, namely the abolition of the tax. (verse 58, p. 8.)

It has been stated by MM. Haraprasad Sastri that though K was a Sannyāsin he had large land property in his native place and that K was rich. We do not know this, but what we know is that like his predecessor Nṛsimhāśrama, K also not only had the tax abolished, but got in addition from the King a large sum of money to be given away as gifts to the pilgrims at the temple of Viśveśvara, and to those bathing at Kaśi and Prayāga in the liberated waters. This is clear from verse four of Pūrṇānanda (p. 16). No wonder needy and greedy versifiers turned up, and the Mahratta Mahādeva Paṭṭavardhana openly begged for Rs.200 (p.v., Intro. KC).

That memorable occasion

The KC does not fail to enlighten us about the time and occasion when K worked this miracle of tax-abolition. Hemarāja Miśra records that it was on a Makara samkaramaṇa day. Surely, as Hemarāja says, it must have been the greatest gift to the Hindus to announce to them that on that Makara samkramaṇa they could have free access to the celestial waters.

क ईदृग्दाताभूज्जगति भविता वा भवति वा
प्रयागे विश्वेभ्यो मकरमधियाते दिनमणौ, etc.

The places which K freed from the tax

The KC specifies only Kāśī and Prayāga as places rescued by K, but some passages like Śl. 193 on p. 28 mention that K got the tax abolished at all Tīrthas. This is likely to be true, and the specification of Kāśī and Prayāga may only be due to their importance. The KC shows us that K was intensely active and in verse 158 on p. 21, we find that the government officers always gave precedence to communications from K over all other official papers. K worked with an organization of collaborators and agents at different places. From the verses of the southerner Līlādhara, son of Viśveśvara, who read the address on his behalf and on behalf of one Padmanābhāśrama, we learn that this Padmanābhāśrama was working at K's instance in the south. And Līlādhara appeals in verse 159 (p. 21) [1] that K should similarly free his own city in the South, a place more sacred than even Kāśī. This city is Prakāśā, as can be seen from line three of this verse and the last verse of Līlādhara.

[1] This verse is printed with mistakes and even with a few syllables omitted in the first line. The first three lines of this verse describe the city 'Prakāśā' in a roundabout way.

Another line of K's work

While on one side K worked for the removal of external disabilities imposed on Hinduism, on another side, he was exerting his influence for internal improvement. He found that the great scholars in the Śāstras were negligent in the performance of the Vedic rites and K went about urging them to perform those rites. Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa dharmādhikārī appreciates this aspect of K's work. Even the poets were induced to perform these rites. Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa remarks that by this, K got proper employment to those who spent their time mastering the Vedas. (Śl. 70, p. 10).

The addresses

MM. Haraprasad Sastri says that the most touching of the addresses presented to K was one by the students of Benares. (IA. XLI. p. 12). But no such address is to be found in the KC. There are only two group-addresses in the KC, one by the Āstikas or Śiṣṭas of Benares and another by the Sannyāsi-paṇḍitas of Benares.

It can be seen that there were two occasions when K was honoured, for otherwise we cannot explain the many cases in the KC where the same poet gives two sets of addresses.

Pūrṇendra, Brahmendra and Śivarāma

Of the many elders at Benares who encouraged K and warmly admired him, the KC makes mention twice of two Sannyāsins, Brahmendra and Pūrṇendra (Śl. 12, p. 2 and Śl. 178, p. 24). According to the list of contents given in the India Office Catalogue, No. 3947, K extols Brahmendra in his Kavīndrakalpadruma. According to the MS. described by R. Mitra in his Notices, No. 4028, one Śivarāma, evidently another Sannyāsin, is also eulogized by K in his Kavīndrakalpadruma.[1]

Some contemporary poets

The anthological interest and value of the KC have been emphasized by Dr. H. D. Sharma. It is not as if the 'signatures' alone supply us with names of writers. Some of the anonymous verses on pp. 55-56 (nos. 304–6) speak of the following poets and writers: Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, Mohana Pāṭhaka, Dhruva, Bhaṭṭa, Kṛṣṇabudha, Harihara, Diṇḍima, Rāma, Maṇḍana kavi, Rudra, Lakṣmaṇa, Pañcānana and Vāhinīpati.

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[1] We may get more facts by a full examination of the Kavīndrakalpadruma.

The author of the KC

According to MM. Haraprasad Śastri, Kṛṣṇa the compiler of the KC was K's Bhandari or treasurer. He was Kṛṣṇa *bhaṭṭa.* But Mr. Shrigondekar calls him Kṛṣṇa *sarasvatī* and this is evidently due to a wrong understanding of verse 9 where 'sarasvatīpadayuta' goes with K and not Kṛṣṇa.

K's scholarship and works

K was not a mere venerable recluse, nor a mere energetic public worker, but was also a man of letters who served literature by not only collecting an unique MSS. library, but by contributing his own works also. The KC frequently applauds his versatile scholarship and it is because of such learning that he was hailed as 'Sarva vidyānidhāna'. He was a scholar not merely in the Darśanas and Kāvya-nāṭaka-alaṁkāra, but also in Music, Astrology and Ayurveda. Unfortunately we possess MSS. of only a few works of his. These works are the Kavīndrakalpadruma (AS, Bengal and India Office), the Padacandrikā on the Daśakumāracarita (Mitra, Notices, 3041), a Yogabhāskara (Oudh XIX 112) of which we know nothing more, a commentary on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Bikaner 179, containing book vi) and a Mīmāmsā sarvasva of which also we know nothing more. The Hamsa dūta mentioned by Aufrecht is a K MS. and not a work by K. There is a commentary on the Tantra vārttika mentioned by Aufrecht as a work of K in CC. I. p. 222b. In the Tanjore library and the India Office library we have MSS. of the Tantra vārttika, text only, with the colophons mentioning Kavīndrācārya. The I. 6 MS. is only a copy of the Tanjore MS. It is inferred that while copying, the scribe left out K's gloss, but retained wrongly his colophons. The colophons, however, fail to associate any commentary on the Vārttika with the name of K, but connect K only with the Vārttika itself, thus making possible the suspicion that these colophons mean only that the MS. of the Vārttika belongs to K. Regarding a commentary of K on the Ṛgveda to which he belonged, we are on surer ground, for MM. Haraprasad Sastri describes a fragment of its MS. in the Vedic volume of his ASB Catalogues, No. 143A, p. 223.

The KC which generally praises K's scholarship seems to refer specifically to some works of K in some of its passages. In Śl. 12 (p. 2) the KC describes K as 'Yogavāsiṣṭha yogavid', and in Śl. 175 (p. 24) as 'Yogavāsiṣṭhavid'. Under No. 255 in Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Florentine Sanskrit MSS, we find a MS. of the

Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra in ten chapters, with Mahīdhara's gloss, *and a Hindi translation of the text.* The colophon describes the work as

"दशविद्यानिधान-कवीन्द्राचार्य-सरस्वतीविरचित-भाषासहित-योगवासिष्ठसार"

Poleman notices in his catalogue of the Indic MSS. in America against No. 5882 a Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra in the Hindi section, with author as K, and describes it as a translation in the Index. From these it would appear that K made a Hindi translation of the Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra in ten chapters. I found that in the Catalogue of the Prācya Grantha Sangraha, Ujjain, a MS. of the Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra was noted as a work of K. From the extracts which were kindly sent to me by Mr. S. L. Katre I find that this Ujjain MS. is similar to the Florentine MS., but with this difference that here, the Hindi translation is left out. We have in the Ujjain MS. the Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra in ten chapters, the commentary of Mahīdhara and the colophon of K. Evidently, the scribe who was interested in copying only the Sanskrit works left out the Hindi translation of K, but wrongly retained K's colophon. That when the KC refers to some work of K on the Yogavāsiṣṭha we have to understand it as his Hindi translation is beyond doubt, for we find actually a MS. of K's Hindi Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra described by Mr. Syam Sundar Das in his First Triennial Report on the Search for Hindi MSS., Allahabad, 1912, p. 333, No. 276a.

The KC extols K as a great grammarian and Mr. Shrigondekar mentions some work of K on Sanskrit Grammar. In the KC, Appendix verse 28, p. 63, Ratnaśarman describes K as 'Prākṛta vykṛtijñaḥ', which may mean that K wrote a commentary on some Prākṛt Grammar treatise.

There are also general references to K's scholarship in Jyotiṣa, but in Śl. 198 (p. 30), I see a clear reference to a commentary of K on a work (Karaṇa ?) of Śrīpati.

GLEANINGS FROM SOME HOME DEPARTMENT RECORDS

By SURENDRANATH SEN

In March 1778 England declared war against France and the news was transmitted to India in due course. The British position had been firmly consolidated in Bengal since the battle of Plassey and when hostilities broke out the French were no match for their British adversaries in the province. Chandernagore was captured without any difficulty though Mons. Chevalier, the commander-in-chief, effected his escape. But there were scattered French factories throughout the province and individual Frenchmen held small trading posts in far off ganjes and villages. A general order was issued for their apprehension though they were not to be treated with unnecessary harshness. In those days of uncertainty it was felt that not merely Frenchmen but vagrant Europeans even of English domicile should not have a free run of the country. All chiefs were directed as we learn from a letter dated Moorshedabad, the 9th August, 'To seize and secure all Foreigners, not being the known dependants of the Danes and Dutch and all Vagrants of whatever Nation that is to say persons not having a regular Licence for their Residence in the country who may be found within the Limits of our Authority and transport them immediately to the Presidency under proper Guards'. The order was executed and inventories of Europeans living in outlying places were made. The correspondence that followed throw some light on the economic condition of Bengal, and we find that some trading places of note have lost all their prosperity during the last one hundred and fifty years.

Here is an extract from a Moorshedabad letter of the 10th August: 'We think it our Duty to acquaint you that five large French Boats have been stopped at the Jellinghee one of 2,000 Maunds and the rest of 1,400 Mds. each. We are informed by the Manjee that they are on their way to Seebgunge to load with grain on the part of Mr. Chevalier; and that 16 Boats of the same Burthen belonging likewise to Mr. Chevalier were already arrived at the Place for the same purpose of taking in grain. We shall detain these Boats as well as those that are expected from Seebgunge if we meet with them until we are favoured with your Instructions regarding them'. If the reference in the above extract is to Shivganj in Dinajpur the place still retains some trade in grains but is no longer important enough to find a mention in the District Gazetteer. In

1778 it was apparently so well known that the Chief of Moorshedabad did not deem it necessary to add anything more to its name to indicate its locality.

We read in another letter that the French prisoners were ordinarily put on their *paroles* and their private belongings were as a rule restored to them with the exception of 'muskets, bayonets and cartouch boxes'. The French had a Ganj or market place at Sydabad near Moorshedabad'. The Governor General-in-Council had so far no knowledge of its existence and enquired how the French could found new markets and ganjes. The Chief and Council replied, 'that in the Time of Jaffier Khawn the then French Resident at Sydabad purchased a Talook of about 65 Begas of land adjacent to the Factory. On this spot the Residents have from time to time erected a few shops in which are sold grain, tobacco, betel, etc., and though it hath obtained the Name of a Gunge yet it is in fact nothing more than a Buzar for the convenience of the Ryots of the Talook'. Six Frenchmen were arrested at Sydabad. The chief was granted an allowance of Rs.50 per month. His second and secretary received Rs.30 and Rs.20 respectively. The surgeon got Rs.20, a private merchant Rs.15 and a menial Rs.10 only.

Although the French in most cases quietly submitted to arrest some of the so-called vagrants threatened trouble, and we read in another Moorshedabad letter (19th August) 'We have just been informed by Colonel Morgan (a copy of whose letter we have the Honor to inclose) that a Suit is or will be commenced by a Mr. Cummings and a Mr. Colvil against the Brigade Major for performing this Duty and we also understand that Lawyers had actually been applied to who gave it as their opinion that an Action would lie'. Probably nothing came out of this threat, and it may be noted that the so-called vagrants were particularly obnoxious as they encroached into the close preserves of the East India Company and their employees and traded on their own account.

On the 22nd July Alexander Higginson, the Chief of Burdwan, reported that 'Monsieur Durand the French Resident at Caycolla (a small Factory about 16 coss distant from hence and eight from Chandernagore) has been brought into Burdwan by a party of sepoys dispatched by the Chief for that purpose'. Durand, however, succeeded in obtaining a respite for winding up his business. From his letter to the Chief and Council it appears that his small establishment hardly deserved to be styled as a Factory. In any case we know from other sources that only four places in Bengal. Chandernagore, Kasimbazar, Jogdia and Dacca were recognized as such by the British authorities, besides Balasore and Patna, then under the jurisdiction of the ruler of Bengal. In any case, Caycolla or

Canicola is no longer counted among the principal trading posts of Bengal. Durand's letter runs as follows:

'Sir and Gentlemen,

Agreeable to the orders of Mr. Higginson I came to Burdwan, I resided with my Family at Canicola for almost 5 years past where I employed a very small capital which scarce afforded me the means of supporting myself; I have at this Juncture dispersed it all, if you require me to go immediately to Calcutta I run the risk of losing all; I have beside left at Canicola, my Mother in law, my Wife and my Daughter in the greatest Distress. I entreat you Sir and Gentlemen, to grant me 15 or 20 days to settle my little Affairs. I rely on your Generosity and Goodness.' Durand was placed on his *parole* and permitted to stay at Canicola till the 10th September. Enemy subjects seem to have been treated with considerable leniency and sympathy in those days.

The Chief of Dacca wrote that he received the Governor General's order on the 12th July and 'immediately took possession of the French Factory at Dacca and their House at Tisgong. The Factory has been for some Months wholly deserted, is in decay, and no Effects or property whatever in it. In the House at Tisgong which was in charge merely of two native servants, there is a small quantity of furniture' . . . . 'There was only one subject of France to be found in Dacca—a private merchant named Carret de la Veaufierre. He has been taken prisoner and released upon his Parole. A party has been sent off to take possession of the Jugdea Factory with Instructions, conformably to your orders. We have intelligence of some straggling Frenchman at Gualparrah, Sylhet and Sootaloory—we shall take measures for apprehending them.'

Goalpara and Sylhet still retain their eminence, but who can imagine to-day that Sootaloory, a small river-side village in the District of Backergunge with a lofty temple (math) as the only relic of its vanished glory, could harbour in its market place a French adventurer? Yet Sootaloory was in those days more important as a commercial centre than Backergunge and could boast of an English trading outpost.

Among the furniture seized at Tejgaon near Dacca are mentioned 8 prints with guilt frames and 11 China pictures. Evidently the French traders in the East had early learnt to appreciate the delicate beauty of Chinese painting and we would not be surprised if some masterpieces of China had actually graced the walls of the garden house at Tejgaon.

It was afterwards reported that there was no Frenchman at Sylhet but a wide net had been cast and those at Goalpara, Jogdia and Backergunge were gradually gathered.

The French Factory at Jogdia deserves more than a passing notice. Jogdia is one of the most important Parganas in the District of Noakhali. The English had a Factory at Lakshipur (Luckypore) in the same district. From a letter written in 1771 it seems that the French Factory stood in danger of being washed away and we do not know whether the site is still intact. Either to provide themselves against the probable effects of the erosion of the river or to extend their trading operations, the French had, in or about 1771, obtained possession of a suitable site for a factory at Chaudela (within Choddogan) by fair purchase. On the 16th February one Sr. Mouton informed Mons. DesGranges, Chief of Dacca, 'This instant is arrived from Choddogan a Burqundass who informs me that 20 Peons have been sent there from Luckypore to drive our people from Chaudela, the wrighter affrighted has fled and the Burqundass who were with him on the order they received to depart, having represented they could no (*sic*) do it without orders have required time to report the news here one of them was sent and is arrived.—Uncertain whether the Burqundass who remained will not be driven out before his return—'. Actually the French were ejected from Chaudela, which, they alleged, they held in possession for several years, by *force majeure* and the authorities at Chandernagore formally lodged their complaints before the Governor General-in-Council. They suspected 'that this affair has been founded on the complaint of a Zemindar to your factory of Luckypore—That we have not paid him the rents. But if such is the person which has induced your chief of that District to take this violent step we would first ask him by what authority he has done it, in the second place have we ever refused paying the rent, assuredly not, since on the contrary M. DesGranges has at different times offered it to the Zemindar who has always answered him that he was not in a hurry and that he would receive all at once what will be due to him for this ground which we have purchased more than three years since by a very valid deed and we have now in our hands the Pottah or Title of delivery in due form'. A copy of this letter was forwarded to the Chittagong Factory, to which Luckypore was evidently subordinate, and it was decided to 'enquire of the Comptrolling Council of Revenue at Muxadabad how the French became possessed of this piece of ground in the Chittagong District after the caution given to the Nabob M.R.C. in Feby: 1770 vide G.L.S.N.'. Apparently it was intended to check all further extension of French commercial operations in Bengal.

On the 27th July the Chief of Dacca reported the capture of the French Factory at Jogdia. It is to be noted that M. Des-Granges, the Chief of the French Factory at Dacca in 1771, was at Jogdia in 1778. The list of effects found at the Jogdia Factory is as follows:

3,000	pieces of Baftaes	belonging to Mr. John Gree at Dacca.
1,000	,, Hummums	
200	,, Towels	
100	,, Table cloths	
300	,, Baftaes ..	belonging to Abraham Knight at Dacca.
600	,, Baftaes ..	belonging to Capt. Roman at Dacca.
50	Bars of Europe Iron containing 25 maunds ..	belonging to Mons. Carret at Dacca.

Apparently Jogdia and its neighbourhood produced *Baftas* of a fairly good quality in the seventies of the 18th century, but alas, no one goes to Noakhali to-day for *Bafta* or cotton goods of similar quality.

A Dacca letter tells us that a French tailor was making his living by making shirts and other clothings at Backergunge. 'Mr. Wood has seized a Frenchman at Backergunge manufacturing shirts and other clothings for the soldiery with all his effects.' There is no cantonment at Backergunge now and a French tailor will be as out of place there as in the Antarctic to-day. Yet there must have been a good volume of trade in those parts, for we learn from another letter that a French snow used to visit the area every year through the Haringhata passage. J. Shakespeare of Dacca informed Mr. Wood that M. Chevalier might attempt to make his escape through the Sundurbans and asked him to send 'with Each Boat one or other of the Europeans who are at Backergunge promising them that the person who may be so fortunate as to apprehend Monsieur Chevalier will be very handsomely rewarded'. Later a more definite announcement was made and a reward of Rs.500 was promised for the apprehension of the fugitive French Commander.

The list of Europeans living within the jurisdiction of Dacca offers but few features of interest. One Mr. Peat was making his living as an Attorney-at-Law. There was an English tailor, Francis Ford. Dacca probably offered a better market for his goods than Backergunge. Five people were real vagrants and had no ostensible means of livelihood. Narayanganj and Chandpur could boast of one Englishman each, while there were three at Goalpara, two at

Sylhet and no less than five, of whom one was a boat builder and contractor, frequented the now obscure Sootaloory and Backergunge.

The Chittagong list is probably more interesting. Of the eleven non-official Englishmen and foreigners living there no less than six were of French extraction, two were German and one Italian. They represented various trades and professions. Simpson, the Englishman, was a tailor, Hemmen the Frenchman was a hair dresser, Noman the German described himself as a harper, Nasau the second German served as a coachman and the solitary Italian was probably a discharged valet (originally in the employment of Captain Forde). Buchastrine, a Frenchman, is considerately described as an old man, which may be a courteous synonym for a harmless vagrant. Two of the Chittagong Frenchmen Echaud and Adrian with Guillemean, a compatriot of their arrested at Tippeah, promptly renounced their nationality. Echaud addressed the following letter to Richard Sumner, Chief of Chittagong: 'Sir, I take the liberty to inform you that since the age of twelve years I have took the English protection and have my fortune and family in this place and that I am extremely desirous to remain all my life under it if it is agreeable to the Government; and to take all suspicions, I am ready to take the oath necessary to affirm the same'. Adrian wrote: 'I am born a native a Frenchman but has been in the Englies King and Companys service for this 24 years during and fought Bravely for his Royal Majesty King George and the Dominions of the United Company Marchands'. He added that he was still in the King's service and promised to serve him 'with the Last Drops of my Blood and all ways behave a loyal subject'. Apparently his loyalty to the English cause was far in excess of his knowledge of the English language. The oath of allegiance was duly administered to them and John Echaud, Martin Adrian and M. Guillemean were restored to liberty and admitted to the rights and privileges of British citizenship.

Many of us are under the impression that records of the late Foreign and Political Department alone can throw fresh light on our country's past, but the records of the Home Department also are replete with valuable information of all sorts. To ignore them will be to leave one of the main sources of British Indian history unexplored.

The above article is based on (1) Home Department Public Consultations, dated the 3rd August, 1778; Bengal Public Consultations, dated the 10th January, 1771; and copies of Records obtained from the India Office from the period 2nd January, 1778 to 28th October, 1779.

AN OLD HERO-STONE OF KĀṬHIĀWĀḌ-GUJARĀT

By HIRANANDA SASTRI

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Hero worship is an old custom. Instances of it are met with in every country in one form or another. A person, who distinguishes himself by displaying exceptional valour or enterprise in the face of danger, or by showing outstanding fortitude in suffering, is honoured after death by public worship. He comes to be regarded as, at least partly, of divine descent, because of the exceptional services he has rendered to mankind. When a man takes a prominent part in any remarkable action or event and sacrifices his life in the achievement of it, he becomes a hero. The people he has left behind feel a natural desire to do him honour for the nobility of his character.

Some members of the public are content with verbal applause—a few interjections like 'Bravo'! '*Shābāsh*'! would, they feel, meet the case. Others, however, desire to do something substantial to perpetuate the memory of their hero. One of the chief forms which public appreciation of a noble deed takes is the setting up of a stele or memorial stone in honour of the hero. It may or may not bear his effigy, but a record of the event in which he displayed heroism is always given.

Heroes are of various kinds and the ways in which they are honoured are equally multifarious. For instance, the scholar in whose honour the present note is being subscribed is a literary hero, and the issuing of this volume is the homage paid him in appreciation of the good work done by him. My note, however, concerns heroes who have sacrificed their lives while fighting to save the life of a fellow human being or of an animal, a cow, etc. Their sacrifice is commemorated by setting up a stele or memorial stone near the place of action. Such memorial stones are called *Śilā-lashṭi* or *lashṭi* (=*Yashṭi*) in Sanskrit. In Gujarātī they are termed *pāliyā*, the name being derived from the root *pāl* meaning to protect. Stones resembling a stele are often seen in Western India to have been used for marking *pālis* or boundaries of fields, and some would consequently connect the word *pāliyā* with the idea of limit or boundary. But to me the former derivation seems to be the correct one.

Pāliyās are found all over Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ. The custom of setting up stelæ in honour of heroes who gave up their

lives while fighting bravely to protect cows or human beings was prevalent in other parts of India also. In South India such stones are called *Vīrakkal*, the stone of a *vīra* (hero).

The death of a person who has given his life in action, actually sword in hand we might say, to save another life, is considered to be very noble, as it should be, and worthy of being commemorated. The custom of setting up stone slabs with inscriptions and also the figures of the heroes concerned is very old and can be traced to about the second century after Christ. The stele under notice is dated in the (Śaka) year 122 (=200 A.D.) in the reign of the Kshatrapa ruler Rudrasena and therefore belongs to the end of the second century of the Christian era. The custom must have been very old. It cannot be averred, however, that it is indigenous to India, for though monuments like the *chaityas* and *stūpas* have been erected since very ancient times, stelæ are not mentioned anywhere or found to have been erected in equally ancient times. The stele under notice belongs to the reign of a Kshatrapa king. The Kshatrapas were foreigners in origin. We shall not be wrong in concluding that the custom of erecting such stones was borrowed by the Hindus from foreigners such as the Śakas who had settled in India during early ages. The stele is decidedly a hero-stone and appears to be the earliest known *pāliyā*, in Western India at least. The inscriptions at Andhau in Cutch, though earlier being dated in the year 52 of the Śaka era, are not *pāliyās* or hero-stones but ordinary memorials though called *lashṭis* in their texts.

A *pāliyā* in Kāṭhiāwāḍ-Gujarāt is now usually marked with the figure of a horseman, representing the hero for whom it has been set up. In some rare cases a figure on a camel is depicted, evidently because the hero must have used that animal for riding.[1] In Kāṭhiāwāḍ *pāliyās* were also put up to honour men who gave their lives in protecting other people while capturing a ship, as for example, the *pāliyās* found at Āramḍā near Okhā-port, on which a ship is also portrayed.[2] Whether the picture represents the ship which was captured during the affray or simply shows that the persons involved were sailors cannot be said definitely. These *pāliyās* are believed to be the memorials of the Bāgher-pirates of the locality.

The *pāliyā* which I wish to notice here is the oldest known to me. It was found at Mūlwāsar, a small village about ten miles to the north-east of Dvārakā, the well-known *tīrtha* of the Hindus. It is now preserved in the compound of the Public Library at Dvārakā. Some scholars have referred to the important inscription

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1 See plate V in my Annual Report for 1934-35.
2 See plates VI and VI*a* in my Annual Report for 1934-35.

incised on it, but none has published it fully and correctly,[1] and it has become necessary to re-edit it. This will be done in detail in a separate epigraphical memoir of the Gaekwad's Archæological Series; here I am giving only the text with translation, for that alone is germane to this note.

The text consists of five lines, one of which is written on the margin and reads '*Vānijakasya*' meaning 'of Vānijaka'. The other four lines read as follows:—

Text.

(Line 1) Rājño Mahākshatrapa[sya] [svā]mi-Rudrasenasya
(Line 2) varshe 122 Vaiśākha-bahula-pa[ñ]chamyā[ṁ]
(Line 3) ima(ya)ṁ śilā-lashṭi [*utthāpitā*] [2] Vānijakasya putreṇa
(Line 4) pratijīvitaṁ dattaṁ [sva]mitre hi ji(ni)ja[sya].

Translation.

'This stone slab (*was set up*) on the 5th day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the (Śaka) year 122, during the reign of the *Mahākshatrapa* Svāmi-Rudrasena. The son of Vānijaka gave his own life for the sake of his own friend.'

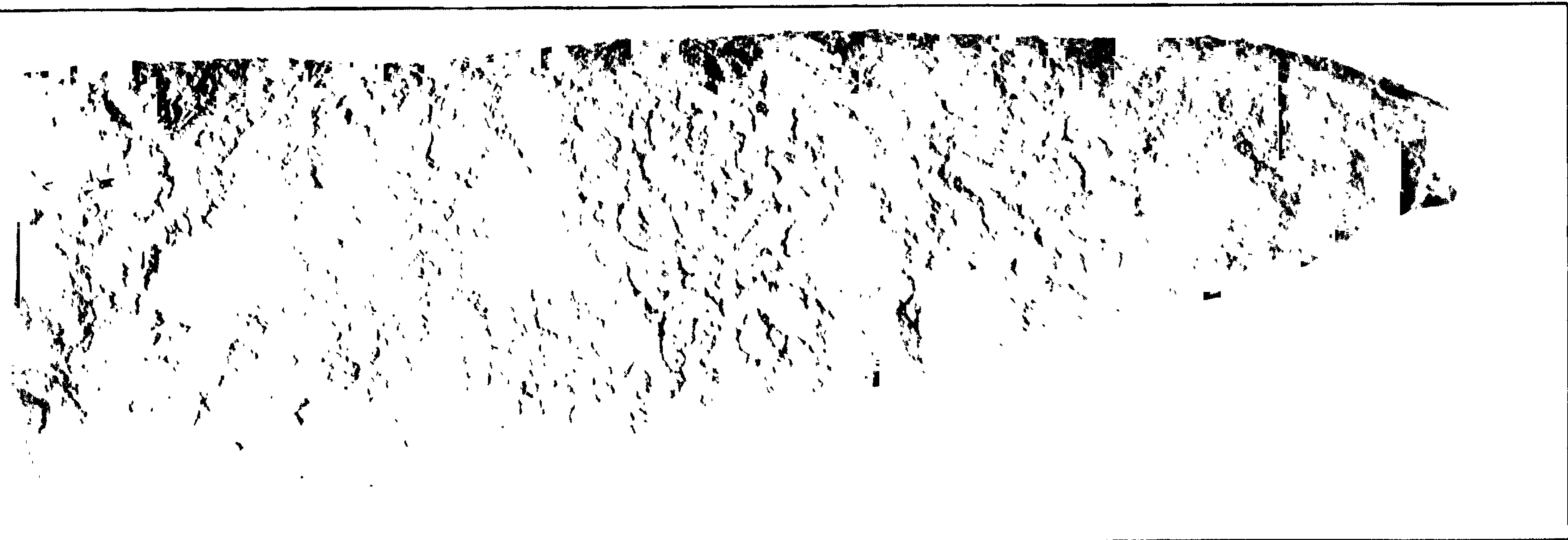
The year 122 mentioned in the record corresponds to the year 200 of the Christian era, when the Kshatrapa ruler Rudrasena was reigning, as has already been stated above. The name of the hero who sacrificed his life is not mentioned, but that of his father is given twice, once in the margin and once in the body of the text itself. The record is much worn and it is quite possible that the name of the hero had been written somewhere but has been obliterated during the course of the centuries. But that is not the chief point. What is noteworthy is that heroes dying for the sake of others were greatly honoured in Kāṭhiāwāḍ-Gujarāt in the early centuries of the Christian era. This *śilā-lashṭi* or stele shows that the Saurāshṭrians of early ages kept alive the memory of their great men, as a shining example to posterity. Others naturally tried to emulate their heroes, and thus the spirit of bravery and chivalry was rendered

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[1] *The Bhavanagar Collection of Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*, published long ago, gives, no doubt, the text of this inscription, but serious blunders have been made in reading and interpreting it. The edition of it which has appeared in the *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Vol. I, is a blind copy of that publication and hence of little consequence.

[2] I am adding this word to complete the sense. Is it, or a word like it, to be found somewhere in the damaged or worn portions?

perennial in the country. The charge is sometimes made that the Hindus did not know self-sacrifice. Stelæ like the one under notice are enough to show the hollowness of such remarks. Indeed, monuments commemorative of the self-immolation of heroes are legion in South and West India, for "हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं ...." was the glorious ideal of our forefathers. It was but natural for them to think of perpetuating by such memorials the memory of a noble soul who sacrificed his life to save another life. Setting up of *śilā-lashṭis* or stelæ appealed to them and they adopted this custom of the foreigners as an excellent method of commemorating such sacrifices. To give an idea of such hero-stones or *pāliyās* a photograph of the Mūlwāsar *śilā-lashṭi* is added. These *pāliyās* remind us of the good days of the chivalrous old Kāṭhiāwāḍ-Gujarāt and ought to be preserved as sacred memorials. Besides, the records engraved on them throw considerable light on the local history of the places where they are erected and form a fit subject for study as is the case with the Mūlwāsar stele under notice. This is another reason why these *pāliyās* should be properly looked after.



Mūlwāsar hero-stone.

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

By KSHETREŚACHANDRA CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA, *University of Allahabad*

महाकालं नमस्कृत्य सर्वकालस्य साक्षिणम् ।
प्रत्नलेखान् समुद्दिश्य यत्किञ्चिद्विलिखाम्यहम् ॥

I

LAKṢAṀ KOṬIM ALEKHAYAT

राष्ट्रकूटान्वये जातो राजा योऽमोघवर्षकः ।
गुप्तराजं चन्द्रगुप्तं मिथ्याभाषिणमब्रवीत् ॥
तस्योक्तिरज्ञतामूला न हि तथ्यानुयायिनी ।
चन्द्रगुप्तपिता यद्धि क्रतौ कोटीरलम्भयत् ॥

Most historians are now agreed that Samudragupta was succeeded by a son named Rāmagupta and not by Candragupta II whom he had nominated as his successor (*tat-parigṛ[hī]t[e]na*, Mathurā Stone Inscription of Candragupta II, Fleet's *CII*, Vol. III, No. 4, lines 9-10).[1] It has been believed that the first half of verse 48 of the Sanjān Copper Plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I of Śaka year 795,

हत्वा भ्रातरमेव राज्यमहरद्देवीं च दीनस्तथा
लक्षं कोटिमलेखयत्किल कलौ दाता स गुप्तान्वयः ।,[2]

refers to the killing by Candragupta II of his elder brother Rāmagupta, and taking possession of his throne and his queen (Dhruvadevī) and to the fact that he *lakṣaṁ koṭim alekhayat*. What is the significance of the last expression ? It has been very variously understood by scholars.[3] The literal meaning, however, appears to

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[1] R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 26–28, D. R. Bhandarkar, *Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, pp. 189–211, A. S. Altekar, *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 223–253, XV, 134–141, K. P. Jayaswal, *ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 17–36, etc. Dr. Bhandarkar believes (*MCV*, pp. 204–206) that the correct name of the king was not *Rāma*-gupta but *Kāca*-gupta.

[2] *EI*, XVII, p. 248.

[3] D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, XVIII, pp. 242 and 255, A. S. Altekar, *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 239–241, K. P. Jayaswal, *ibid.*, XVIII, p. 18 and n. 5.

be quite clear: 'he (falsely) got *lac* written (or inscribed) as *crore*'. Where did he make (or was supposed by Amoghavarṣa I to have made) this falsification? The answer to this question is probably supplied by an inscription of Candragupta II himself. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (Fleet No. 1) says that he gave away in charity 'many *lacs* of cows' (*aneka-go-śatasahasra-pradāyinaḥ*, line 25). But in one of the Mathurā Stone Inscriptions of his son Candragupta II (Fleet No. 4), the latter says about his father that he gave away 'many *crores* of cows' and gold coins rightfully obtained (*nyāyāgatāneka-go-hiraṇya-koṭi-pradasya*, line 4), an expression which becomes stereotyped about Samudragupta and is copied in the later Gupta inscriptions (Fleet No. 10, line 2, No. 12, line 16, No. 13, line 2). Is it this change of *lacs* (*śatasahasra-*) into *crores* (*koṭi-*), introduced by the son Candragupta II with reference to his father Samudragupta, which gave Amoghavarṣa I an occasion to run down Candragupta II? We need not, of course, accept the accusation that Candragupta II did actually speak an untruth about his father. We know that Samudragupta performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice [1] after the inscribing of the Allahabad Pillar [2] and that certainly involved very heavy expenditure in *dakṣiṇā*. We have preserved some of the gold coins that he struck on this occasion, presumably to give to the priests as *dakṣiṇā*. In this way, he must have given away many more lacs of cows and gold coins after the Allahabad Pillar was inscribed. Amoghavarṣa I, unaware of the modern methods of historical criticism, failed to realize this, and when he found that the son spoke about gifts of *crores* where the father had spoken of only *lacs*, he naturally thought that the son was exaggerating. If I have correctly hit the source of Amoghavarṣa's statement, I may claim that we have here a confirmation of the view that this verse makes reference to Candragupta II. We thus get an epigraphic corroboration from the ninth century A.D. of the literary traditions about the Rāmagupta episode, which R. G. Basak [3] and H. C. Raychaudhuri [4] do not feel disposed to accept.

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[1] More than once, according to Prabhāvatiguptā, *EI*, XV, No. 4, line 3.

[2] Fleet wrongly believed this inscription to be posthumous as he misunderstood the expressions *kīrtim itas tridaśapatibhavanagamanāvāptalalitasukhavicaraṇām* (lines 29-30).

[3] *History of North-Eastern India* (abbreviated below as *HN-EI*), Preface, iii-iv.

[4] *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., (abbreviated *PHAI*), p. 465, n. 1. These traditions are not so discrepant as Professor Raychaudhuri believes; they supplement each other. Professor V. V. Mirashi has also *not* shown in *IHQ*, March 1934, pp. 48ff., that 'details not found in the earlier accounts continued to be added to in the days of Amoghavarṣa I (A.D. 815–78) and Govinda IV (A.D. 918–933)' (*PHAI*, *loc. cit.*).

Dr. Altekar has supposed that *lakṣaṁ koṭim alekhayat* has reference to Candragupta's own charities.[1] But we should remember that the killing of his elder brother and the marrying of his widow mentioned in the first line of the verse have no connection at all with his charity. What Amoghavarṣa I meant was that he was a greater *dāna-vīra* than Candragupta II and had the further advantage of being free from the sins (among them being the propagation of a falsehood) that tarnished the name of the latter.

It is to be noted, however, that the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā has used the epithet [*a*]*neka-go-hiraṇya-koṭisahasra-pradaḥ*, 'giver of many thousands of crores of cattle and gold' for her father Candragupta II instead of her grandfather Samudragupta.[2] She has similarly transferred the characteristic epithets of her grandfather, *pṛthivyām apratiratha-* (Fleet No. 4, line 1, No. 10, line 1, No. 12, line 14, No. 13, line 1), *sarvarājocchetṛ-* (Fleet No. 4, line 1, No. 10, line 1, No. 12, line 14, No. 13, line 1) and *caturudadhisalilā-svāditayaśas-* (Fleet No. 4, line 2, No. 10, line 1, No. 12, line 15, No. 13, line 1) to her own father.[3] But this stands alone and is against the testimony of the Guptas themselves.

Before taking leave of the statement of Amoghavarṣa I, I may further point out that if he discovered the apparent discrepancy of the Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II with that of his father in the Aśoka pillar, both the inscriptions must have been accessible to him. Mathurā was a sacred place, frequently visited by pilgrims from all parts of the country and so was Prayāga, the place of the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. Not so was Kauśāmbī, a place unlikely to be visited by a king of the Deccan. Now, the Allahabad Fort Pillar, containing the inscriptions of Aśoka, Samudragupta and Jahāngīr, is believed to have originally stood at Kauśāmbī, because Aśoka has addressed the Mahāmātras of Kauśāmbī in the Schism Edict of this Pillar. C. S. Krishnaswamy and Amalananda Ghosh have shown that the Pillar could not have

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1 *JBORS*, XIV, 239–241.

2 First Poona Plates of Prabhāvatiguptā (Pl. I, line 6, *EI*, XV, p. 41) and her Riḍhapur Plates (Pl. I, l. 6, *JPASB*, XX, p. 58, with the adjective *nyāyāgata-* at the beginning).

3 Poona Plates I, lines 4-5 and Riḍhapur Plates (with the omission of *caturudadhisalilāsvāditayaśāḥ*) I, lines 5-6. This wholesale transference to her own father of the characteristic epithets of Prabhavatī's grandfather shows that we are not entitled to believe that *sarvarājocchettā* was a regular epithet of Candragupta II also (*Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, p. 204). Consequently, Fleet, Smith and Allan's grounds for ascribing the Kāca coins to Samudragupta remain unaffected by the Poona Plates of Prabhāvatiguptā. The portrait of the king on the Kāca coins (Allan, Plate II, 6–13) bears a strong resemblance to the portrait in the Samudragupta coins (e.g. Allan, Plate I, 2, 3, 5–9, 11–13 etc.)

been brought to Allahabad from Kauśāmbī by Akbar (*Hultzsch*) or Firūz Shāh Tughlak (*Cunningham*) and very likely stood at the place of the sacred confluence before the accession of the latter in 1351 A.D. (*JRAS*, 1935, pp. 697–703). It is more likely that the southern Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I also found the Pillar in the ninth century A.D. at Prayāga, than that he saw it at an out of the way place like Kauśāmbī.[1] The conclusion becomes inevitable that it was on the same site at the time of Samudragupta also. Can we go a step further and assume that Aśoka, the original author of the Pillar, also set it up in the same famous meeting ground of people, and inscribed in it his Six Pillar Edicts and later the Schism Edict and the Queen's Edict? Prayāga is very close to the city of Kauśāmbī and may have been included in the Kauśāmbī *viṣaya*, as Kosam is today included in the Allahabad District, and there would be, therefore, nothing incongruous in Aśoka addressing the Mahāmātras of Kauśāmbī from Prayāga.

II

DĀMODARAGUPTA: DID HE DIE IN BATTLE?

मालवेषु पुरा राजा दामोदरसमाह्वयः ।
मौखरिसंगरे मूर्च्छां महतीं प्राप्तवान् किल ॥
न साऽभूत् प्राणनाशाय तत्प्रजासुकृतेर्बलात् ।
अप्सरःस्पर्शलाभेन यतोऽसौ प्रत्यबुध्यत ॥

The Aphsaḍ Stone Inscription of Ādityasena (Fleet No. 42) tells us that Kumāragupta[2] who was victorious against the Maukhari king Īśānavarman[3] and later performed religious suicide at

[1] Amoghavarṣa I could also have had local information about the important places in the Ganges basin in North India from hearsay, through the circumstance that both his grandfather Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa and his father Govinda III led victorious expeditions to this region (Bhor State Museum Plates of Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa, verse 22, *EI*, XXII, p. 184, Jethwai Plates of Śilamahādevī, v. 24, *EI*, XXII, p. 107, Sanjān Plates of Amoghavarṣa I, vv. 14, 21, 23, *EI*, XVIII, pp. 244, 245, Baroda, *now* British Museum, Plates of Karka Suvarṇavarṣa, v. 17, *IA*, XII, p. 159, Sirur Inscription of Do., *ibid.*, p. 218, Surat Plates of Do., v. 25, *EI*, XXI, p. 142, *et cetera*; see A. S. Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, pp. 55–58 and 64–67.)

[2] We cannot call him Kumāragupta III (H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 509), for had these Guptas of Mālava (of Magadha from the time of only Mādhavagupta) had any connection with the Imperial Guptas, the very full genealogy in the Aphsaḍ Inscription would certainly have noted it, instead of characterizing the first king, Kṛṣṇagupta, as simply 'of good family (*sadvaṁśaḥ*, v. 1)'.

[3] I cannot understand how Professor Radhakumud Mookerji takes the Aphsaḍ Inscription as making Īśānavarman victorious over Kumāragupta (*Harsha*, p. 55).

Prayāga,[1] had a son Dāmodaragupta who carried on the family tradition of successful warfare with the Maukharis (lines 8-9, verse 11, p. 203):

यो मौखरैः समितिषूद्धतहूणसैन्या

वल्गद्घटा विघटयन्नुरुवारणानाम् ।

सम्मूर्च्छितः सुरवधूर्वरयन्ममेति

तत्पाणिपङ्कजसुखस्पर्शाद् (emend ॰सुखस्पृशया) विबुद्धः ॥ [2]

Fleet misunderstood the second half of the verse and translated it as "he became unconscious (*and expired in the fight*); (*and then, waking again in heaven, and*) making a choice among the women of the gods, saying '(*this one or that*) belongs to me', he was revived by the pleasing touch of the waterlilies that were their hands" (p. 206). The correctness of Fleet's interpretation has been tacitly accepted by scholars who have come after him.[3] But the text cannot bear this interpretation. The inscription does *not* speak of Dāmodaragupta's death. It only speaks of his *swoon* (*sammūrcchitaḥ*) and of his subsequent *awakening*, i.e. regaining of consciousness (*vibuddhaḥ*). Fleet gets his sense by making two additions '(*and expired in the fight*)' and '(*and then, waking again in heaven and*)' for which there is absolutely no warrant either in the text or in its context. The meaning of the verse appears to be simply this: Dāmodaragupta was seriously wounded in that sanguinary engagement which brought victory [4] to him and he fainted away, but though his wound appeared to be very serious, he ultimately regained consciousness. The writer of the epigraph poetically assumes that the revival was due to the pleasing touch of the *apsarases* who had come to the field of battle to meet the fallen warriors. We have a somewhat similar device actually used in the Third Act of the *Uttararāmacarita* (a work of about the same time), viz., the revival of the fainted Rāmacandra through the touch of Sītā. The next verse (12) in the Aphsaḍ Inscription (lines 9-10, p. 203),

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When Kumāragupta became a *Mandara* to churn the sea of Īśānavarman's army and secured *Lakṣmī* from the process (v. 8), the former and not the latter was the victor.

[1] *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, X, p. 74.

[2] A friend of mine suggests the emendation तत्पाणिपङ्कजसुखस्पृशयेव बुद्धः.

[3] H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 512, R. Mookerji, *Harsha*, p. 55, R. D. Banerji, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 195, R. G. Basak, *HN-EI*, p. 123, etc.

[4] And not *defeat*, as supposed by Dr. Basak (*loc. cit.*) and Dr. Mookerji (*loc. cit*). against the testimony of the inscription. We have no evidence to show that the writer of the epigraph falsely described a defeat as a victory.

गुणवद्द्विजकन्यानां नानालङ्कारयौवनवतीनाम् ।
परिणायितवान् स नृपः शतं निसृष्टाग्रहाराणाम् ॥,

evidently speaks of what Dāmodaragupta did after that event. The effecting of the marriages with proper dowries of one hundred Brāhmaṇa girls was very likely an act of thanksgiving for the restoration of his life. Fleet's assumption that the verse refers to some thing that he *had done earlier* '(*while he was*) king' (p. 206) is against the text. *Sa nṛpaḥ* means 'that king' and not '(while he was) king', for which we require *yāvan nṛpaḥ*. Dāmodaragupta must have been a king up to the moment of his death, even in the view of Fleet. Consequently what would be the sense in speaking of Dāmodaragupta's death first and then of what he did *while he was king*? If, on the other hand, we take verse 11 as referring to Dāmodaragupta's swoon and subsequent recovery and verse 12 to what he did afterwards, everything becomes intelligible. There is nothing to show that the verses of this inscription have not followed the chronological order (cf. verses 8 and 9). We should, therefore, believe that Dāmodaragupta did not die immediately after the battle but lived for some time to enjoy the fruit of his victory.

I may add at the end that the Maukhari contemporary, victor of the Hūṇas, against whom Dāmodaragupta prevailed, seems to have been Avantivarman, whom the last verse of the *Mudrārākṣasa* describes as having protected the earth afflicted by the 'foreigners' (*mlecchair udvejyamānā*). There can be no objection against identifying those *mlecchas* with the Hūṇas mentioned in verse 11 of the Aphsaḍ Inscription.

प्रत्नविद् देवदत्तोऽसौ
    भाण्डारकरवंशजः ।
लेखाभ्यां प्रीयतामाभ्यां
    मम क्षेत्रेशशर्म्मणः ॥

VAIṢṆAVISM IN VIJAYANAGARA

By B. A. SALETORE

Elsewhere I have shown that Śaivism, through the efforts of its most powerful socio-religious custodians the Sthānikas, had maintained for centuries its great status in the history of the land.[1] Since the days of its early success over Jainism,[2] it had to contend with its great rival Vaiṣṇavism for quite a long time; but on the appearance of the founders of the famous Vijayanagara Empire in A.D. 1346,[3] Śaivism again gathered renewed strength. And for nearly two centuries after that date, it was the most prominent religion of the country. In the course of the long supremacy which Śaivism maintained in southern and western India, even the magnificent achievements of such intellectual and spiritual giants like the great Madhvācārya,[4] failed to dislodge Śaivism from the paramount position it had occupied in the land.

But this prolonged supremacy of Śaivism received a shattering blow in the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D., when the great Hindu royal family that ruled over practically the whole of southern India exchanged a Vaiṣṇava god for a Śaivite deity. The reigning Hindu imperial House was that of Vijayanagara, and the monarch, Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great.

Before we elucidate this assertion with the help of historical data, it is worthwhile to reject here the statement made by some that the Vijayanagara royal House had espoused the cause of Vaiṣṇavism in the days of king Virūpākṣa. According to the Rev. Heras, this ruler was responsible for making Vaiṣṇavism the State religion. 'Inspite of this Jaina influence, the Vijayanagara sovereigns remained faithful to the cult of Śiva till they became disciples of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism towards the close of the 15th century.' The Rev. Heras then describes the advent of two brothers from Eṭṭūr, by name Nṛsimhācārya and Śrīrangācārya, at the Vijayanagara court; and

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1 Read Saletore, The *Sthānikas and Their Historical Importance*, in the *Journal of the Bombay University*, VII, Part I.

2 Read Saletore, *Mediæval Jainism*, Chs. VII *and* VIII.

3 Read Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, pp. 13, seq. The date A.D. 1336 given for the foundation of Vijayanagara has no basis in history.

4 On the life and achievements of this remarkable Vaiṣṇava teacher, read Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, pp. 416–449.

their success in converting the Vijayanagara monarch Virūpākṣa from Śaivism into Vaiṣṇavism. He then concludes thus—'Accordingly the sovereign (King Virūpākṣa) foreswore Śaivism and became a fervent Vaiṣṇava. On this occasion, the majority of his subjects also became followers of Vaiṣṇavism [1].'

The above conclusion which is no doubt based on Anantācārya's work called *Prapannāmṛtam*, is untenable. Anantācārya gives the entire story of the alleged conversion of King Virūpākṣa from Śaivism into Vaiṣṇavism. He relates that the two brothers named above, on entering a haunted palace in the city of Vijayanagara, pacified the ghosts that resided in it. The two brothers then related the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to King Virūpākṣa who, we are told, had ascended the throne after murdering his relatives. The ruler stupefied with the miraculous work of the two brothers, felt great reverence for the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the god Rāma, and the preceptor Eṭṭūr Nṛsimhācārya. He forthwith became a staunch Vaiṣṇava, and in token of his new creed, exchanged the time-honoured Vijayanagara sign-manual of Virūpākṣa—which was the name of the celebrated deity in the temple of that name at the great capital itself—for the new one of Śrī Rāma. And on the king renouncing the Śaiva faith for the Vaiṣṇava creed, his subjects followed suit; and after him, the Vijayanagara monarchs, who till that time had been devotees of Śiva, became adherents of Viṣṇu.[2]

Entire credence cannot be given to the above story of the alleged conversion of the Vijayanagara royal House from Śaivism into Vaiṣṇavism in the reign of King Virūpākṣa, as given by Anantācārya in his *Prapannāmṛtam*. King Virūpākṣa reigned from A.D. 1467 until A.D. 1478. His reign was not only short but uneventful.[3] Even the uncritical foreign traveller, Fernão Nuniz, gives a very gruesome account of the reign of King Virūpākṣa. He relates thus about that ruler—'As long as he reigned he was given over to vice, caring for nothing but women, and to fuddle himself with drink and amuse himself, and never showed himself either to his captains or to his people; so that in a short time he lost that which his forefathers had won and left to him'. And Nuniz continues to relate how King Virūpakṣa 'in mere sottishness slew many of his captains', and ultimately gave an opportunity to 'one of his captains who was called Narsymgua, who was in some manner akin to him', to attack and dethrone the useless monarch.[4] The reference here is to the famous

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1 Henry Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 540-541.
2 S. K. Aiyangar, *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 77–79.
3 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 177.
4 Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagara*, pp. 305-306.

usurpation by Sāḷuva Nṛsimha, also called Narasinga Rāya Oḍeyar, the most powerful noble of the times, of the Vijayanagara throne.[1]

For our purpose we may note, therefore, that King Virūpākṣa's reign being utterly devoid of any importance, could never have been marked by such outstanding event like the conversion of the monarch and of the people from Śaivism into Vaiṣṇavism. Secondly, it is not correct to say that the Vijayanagara monarch Virūpākṣa and his successors used the new sign-manual *Śrī Rāma* instead of the old one *Śrī Virūpākṣa*. If it were really so, then, one should not have found the sign-manual *Śrī Virūpākṣa* being in vogue for nearly 120 years after King Virūpākṣa. The fact that even Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya used the well-known sign-manual *Śrī Virūpākṣa* (in Kannaḍa), so late as A.D. 1545,[2] is enough to disprove the statement of Anantācārya that the Vijayanagara monarchs beginning with King Virūpākṣa used Śrī Rāma as their sign-manual.

What seems more probable is that the gradual decline of Śaivism among the members of the Vijayanagara royal family, and consequently among the people of the Empire, began after King Virūpākṣa's reign. The very fact that the famous Sāḷuva usurper named above called himself after one of Viṣṇu's names—Nṛsimha or Narasinga—suggests that an anti-Śaivite tendency had already begun to set in among the royal personages at Vijayanagara. It is precisely this slow change in the monarchical attitude that is bemoaned by Vīra Śaiva authors like Virūpākṣa Paṇḍita (A.D. 1584), who in his well-known work called *Cenna Basava Purāṇa* relates that after the death of Prauḍha Rāya (*i.e.*, evidently Immaḍi Rāya or Mallikārjuna, who ruled from A.D. 1446 until A.D. 1467), came King Virūpākṣa and Narasaṇṇa (*i.e.*, Sāḷuva Nṛsimha), when Śaivism declined and *anācāra* raised its head.[3] The *anācāra* referred to here was evidently the name given by the Vīra Śaivas to the rising tide of Vaiṣṇavism.

But it must be confessed that the monarchs of Vijayanagara were too broadminded thus to throw overboard suddenly Śaivism which had been the State religion since the date of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire (A.D. 1346). Hence we find that in the reigns of the rulers who succeeded Sāḷuva Nṛsimha, the Tuḷuva Narasa (A.D. 1496–A.D. 1503) and the latter's eldest son Vīra Narasimha (A.D. 1504–A.D. 1509), nothing happened in the capital to

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1 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 117.

2 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IV, Ng. 58, p. 128.

3 Virūpākṣa Paṇḍita, *Cenna Basava Purāṇa*, 63, 40 seq.; Ṣaḍakṣaradeva, *Rājaśekharavilāsa*, I, v. 17; Adṛśyakavi, *Prauḍharājacarite*, (or *Prauḍharāyanakāvya*) I, 41; I, 12.

create the impression that the old faith of Śaivism had been driven into the background by the monarchs. But there were, however, two events which clearly showed which way the wind was blowing. One was the notable success which the Vaiṣṇava teacher Śrīpāda met with at the hands of King Sāḷuva Nṛsiṃha. It is related that this Vaiṣṇava *guru* Śrīpāda sat on the throne on the occasion of an evil *muhūrta* (*kuhayoga*) to avert disaster to the monarch, and that consequently he was honoured with the title of *Rāya*. The exact date when Śrīpāda Rāya sat on the Vijayanagara throne is, however, still a matter of uncertainty.[1] The success which crowned the efforts of Śrīpāda Rāya in averting the danger to the Vijayanagara monarch may have been partly responsible for the keen desire which the ruler Sāḷuva Nṛsiṃha showed to Vaiṣṇavism. Indeed, Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima in the 9th Canto of his work called *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* relates that the Emperor Sāḷuva Nṛsiṃha, while on a visit to the famous temple of Tirupati in the south, gave a new crown to the god Śrīnivāsa, when he himself was assuming an imperial crown after his glorious victories.[2]

The other fact which added to the strength of Vaiṣṇavism was the marked favour Vyāsarāya, the great Vaiṣṇava teacher who will figure presently, secured at the hands of the ruler King Narasa. Somanātha in his work called *Vyāsayogicaritam* tells us that King Narasa took the advice of Vyāsarāya every day in private (*evam-eva bhaktyā sambhāvayantaṃ rahasyenaṃ dharma-paropadeśena pratyahaṃ-anugṛhṇan*).[3] There cannot be any doubt about the powerful hold Vyāsarāya had on the Vijayanagara court in the days of King Narasa and King Vīra Narasiṃha.[4] But the fact that King Narasa took secretly (*rahasyena*) the advice of Vyāsarāya suggests also that the great Vaiṣṇava teacher had not yet completely succeeded in winning over the illustrious royal House of Vijayanagara to his side. For he had to wait just a few years before he could finally unfurl the Vaiṣṇava banner in the great capital, thereby proving himself to be the greatest enemy Śaivism ever had in the mediæval times. And this opportunity he got in the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya.

It was really in the reign of this great ruler Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya that Śaivism gave place to Vaiṣṇavism as the State religion, although, as said above, the monarchs continued to use their old sign-manual

[1] *M.A.R. for* 1919, p. 36; B. Venkoba Rao places this event in A.D. 1471. *Vyāsayogicaritam*, Intr. pp. xcvi, xcvii, xciv. But this date falls within the reign of King Virūpākṣa, and, therefore, cannot be accepted.

[2] Venkoba Rao cites the relevant verses in *Vyāsayogicaritam*, Intr. p. x.

[3] Venkoba Rao, *ibid.*, p. 59.

[4] Venkoba Rao, *ibid.*, pp. 57-58, 66.

Śrī Virūpakṣa at the end of their official grants, down till the days of Emperor Sadāśiva (A.D. 1543–A.D. 1567). The magnanimous Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya never failed to use the same sign-manual, as his numerous grants amply prove.[1] But two causes brought about the downfall of Śaivism in the Vijayanagara Empire. The first was the continued presence of great Vaiṣṇava teachers in the capital itself. One of these was the *guru* named above—Vyāsarāya. This learned man was the disciple of Brahmaṇya Tīrtha, and was the founder of the well-known Vyāsarāya *maṭha* at Sōsale, Tirumakūḍlu-Narsīpura tāluka, Mysore State. A remarkable incident is narrated about him by his disciple and successor Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha in the latter's work called *Vyāsavijaya*. It is the following:—That the Vijayanagara monarch Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was once warned of an evil *muhūrta* (*kuhayoga*) approaching, and was advised to put someone on the throne during that time. Not knowing what to do, the Emperor sent his State elephant with a garland which the animal presented to Vyāsayogi, who was then in the capital. Vyāsatīrtha being an ascetic felt shy at the prospect of being asked to sit on the throne, and hid himself in a cave. But the State elephant, which was sent a second time, again went near him but this time to the cave. Vyāsatīrtha now deemed it prudent to obey the divine summons, and was, therefore, requested to sit on the throne and thereby avert the evil *muhūrta*. In order to manifest the danger, Vyāsatīrtha instead of sitting on the throne, threw his *kāṣāya* or red garment, which immediately was burnt. He then took his seat on the throne, and in the short time left to him, gave grants of land to Brahmans who had anointed him.[2]

It is not surprising that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya should have considered such a teacher, who was the second Vaiṣṇava *guru* who had averted calamity to the imperial House on the occasion of a *kuhayoga*, his tutelary deity (*kuladevata*), and that he should have vowed to devote everything he had for the worship of Vyāsarāya.[3] To this Vaiṣṇava teacher Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya granted lands in A.D. 1516, 1520, 1523 and 1527.[4]

Another remarkable Vaiṣṇava teacher who toured the Vijayanagara Empire, and is said to have received honours at the hands of the same monarch, and of his successors too, was Vallabhācārya, about whom we shall deal with at some length in a separate paper.

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1 Witness, for instance, *E.C.*, IV, Ng. 81 dates A.D. 1513, p. 133 and quite a number of others.

2 *M.A.R. for* 1919, p. 36; Venkoba Rao, *op. cit.*

3 Venkoba Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

4 *M.A.R. for* 1919, pp. 34-35; *ibid. for* 1920, pp. 50; *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 84, Sh. 85, p. 33.

These and others were the Vaiṣṇava champions who weaned Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya from Śaiva faith and who brought him within the fold of Vaiṣṇavism. This ruler gave public expression to the new creed he adopted in three ways—Firstly, he built and renovated temples in honour of Vaiṣṇava deities; secondly, he ordered the construction of a prominent image in honour of Viṣṇu; and, finally, he made public his Vaiṣṇava tendency in his coinage. One of the most well-known edifices in the city of Vijayanagara was the Kṛṣṇasvāmi temple. Even now it is one of the best-liked buildings amidst the ruins of that city. Sewell opined that it was constructed in A.D. 1513 by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya after his successful return from his eastern campaigns.[1] While Sewell is correct in maintaining that the ruler constructed that temple on the latter's return from the eastern campaigns, he is incorrect in dating that structure to A.D. 1513. For two stone records in that temple dated A.D. 1515 inform us that the monarch set up in that temple the image of Kṛṣṇa which he had brought from Udayagiri.[2] This year A.D. 1515, therefore, was eventful in the history of Vaiṣṇavism. The construction of the Kṛṣṇasvāmi temple in the capital by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya signified the triumph of Vaiṣṇavism in that city as well as in the Vijayanagara Empire. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya seemed thereby to give public proof of his Vaiṣṇavite leanings; and he showed it further by a change in his coinage to which we shall presently turn. In the meanwhile we may observe that the Kṛṣṇasvāmi temple was not the only building which attested the change in the creed of the Emperor. It was about this time too that the additions to the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple, also in the same city, were made by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya. The work of this most ornate of all religious edifices in the Vijayanagara Empire, however, was continued by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's son and successor Acyuta Deva Rāya, and the latter's nephew Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya; and, as Sewell surmises, was probably stopped only by the destruction of the great city in A.D. 1565.[3]

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[1] Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[2] *M.A.R. for* 1920, p. 37.

[3] Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 163. Some maintain that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya brought the image of Viṭṭhala, popularly called Viṭṭhoba, from Paṇḍharpur. (G. H. Khare, *Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara and the Viṭṭhala image of Paṇḍharpur* in *The Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume*, pp. 191–196.) That this is all wrong—based as it is on a misleading statement in the *Annual Report of the Archt. Dept. for* 1922-1923, *para* 67, has been amply proved by Dr. C. Nārāyana Rao in his article on *An Identification of the Idol of Viṭṭohala in the Viṭṭhala temple at Hamp, in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference* held at Mysore, pp. 715–726. But while Dr. Nārāyana Rao has succeeded in proving the prevalence of Viṭṭhala worship in Karnāṭaka long before the days of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, he has not

The second method by which Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya demonstrated to the world his new creed was by constructing a monolithic image of the god Narasimha in the capital. According to Sewell, it was in A.D. 1528 that this monolithic stone image of the god Viṣṇu in His *avatāra* of Narasimha, the man-lion, was constructed out of a single boulder of granite that lay near the south-western gate of the Kṛṣṇasvāmi temple.[1]

But the most successful means Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great adopted to signalize his conversion from Śaivism into Vaiṣṇavism was in his coinage. In the first five years of his reign, he minted coins of what are known as the Umāmaheśvara type. That is to say, coins which had on their obverse Śiva and Pārvatī, with a trident in the hand of Śiva; and on the reverse, bearing the legend *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Rāya* in Nāgari. On his bringing the image of Kṛṣṇa from Udayagiri, the Emperor began to mint coins which belong to the Bālakṛṣṇa type. These coins contain on the obverse the following—the divine baby Bālakṛṣṇa seated on a seat, with one knee bent and resting on the seat, and the other raised up and supporting the left arm which is stretched out at ease. The right hand holds a lump of butter. The Child wears large ear-rings, a girdle of gingles, gingled or beaded bracelets, armlets and anklets on his fat little body and limbs; and on His head a crown of peacock's feathers with a string of flowers above. In field there is a conch to the right and a discus to the left. And on the reverse is a larger three lined Nāgari legend—*Śri Pratāpa Kṛṣṇa.*[2]

No other proclamation was necessary to show that the Emperor was now a staunch devotee of Viṣṇu, although, as related above, he never left off using the time-honoured sign-manual of *Śrī Virūpākṣa* at the end of his royal grants, down till the last days of his reign. But so far as the rivalry of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism is concerned,

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given proof to show that there was Viṭṭhala worship in Vijayanagara itself. This may be given here. A copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1408 relates that in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler Deva Rāya, there was a temple of the god Viṭṭhala on the bank of the Tungabhadrā. In the presence of this god Viṭṭhaleśvara a specified grant was made by some citizens of the Āraga Eighteen Kampaṇa. (*E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 222, p. 211.) This inscription proves not only that there was the god Viṭṭhala in the great capital in A.D. 1408, but that the famous temple in that god's name existed also in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. In view of this, Sewell's assertion that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya commenced the building of the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple (Sewell, *Forg. Emp.*, p. 163) has to be abandoned. The Viṭṭhala temple at Vijayanagara does not seem to have been in any way prominent in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. And it cannot be maintained on the strength of the above inscription that Vaiṣṇavism was powerful in the capital in A.D. 1408.

1 Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 163.

2 *M.A.R. for* 1930, p. 70.

Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's reign marked an epoch. The success of Vaiṣṇavism was now unchallenged. And although Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's successors strenuously endeavoured to work for the common welfare and to give equal patronage to all religions, yet the days of Śaivism were numbered. Truly it may be said without any exaggeration that after that great monarch's time, Śaivism lay beaten and humbled for over three centuries. A negative factor which added to the success of Vaiṣṇavism was this—That Śaivism did not produce any remarkable intellectual giant who could successfully meet and overthrow men like Vyāsatīrtha and others. This told sadly on the career of the old faith, and especially on its socio-religious custodians the Sthānikas, who had so successfully and creditably maintained, as is undoubtedly proved by the many epigraphs we have cited elsewhere, the Śaivite supremacy all over southern and western India for nearly ten long centuries.

And when once thus the Śaivite hold on the great capital was shaken, its grip over the rest of the Vijayanagara Empire was simultaneously loosened. To the Sthānikas, who were always in the van-guard of Śaivism, this meant everything: with the transference of the allegiance of the monarchs of Vijayanagara from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism meant the disappearance of the most solid support they had in the land. And their success or failure in the country depended on the whims of the provincial rulers and the general public, and on the nature of the propaganda their rivals—the leaders of Vaiṣṇavism—made in the different parts of the country. It is in the examination of the last factor that we come to the saddest feature in the history of the rivalry between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. We can best illustrate this point by restricting ourselves to one particular province of the great Vijayanagara Empire, where the growing influence of Vaiṣṇavism practically annihilated the Sthānikas. This province was the well-known Tuḷuvanāḍu which now goes by the name of South Kanara. A careful and detailed investigation of the facts to be presently narrated has revealed to the writer that in this distant province of Vijayanagara was waged perhaps the bitterest part of the Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava struggle.

A few details are to be explained before we enumerate concrete cases of the intensity of the struggle between the two great creeds of the land. In Tuḷuva is the famous seat of Vaiṣṇavism—Uḍipi—from where the great Madhvācārya had preached the gospel of Dvaitism. We have elsewhere given all available details connected with the life and achievement of this greatest son of Tuḷuva.[1] Uḍipi before and during the early years of Ānandatīrtha was, as we have amply

[1] Saletore, *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, I, pp. 416–449, *op. cit.*

proved in the same work,[1] essentially a Śaivite centre. Indeed, it was from the Śaivite ranks that that great Teacher had recruited followers into his fold. Notwithstanding the activities of this celebrated Vaiṣṇava teacher, it must be admitted that for nearly three centuries after him the Śaivites of Tuḷuva, especially in and around Uḍipi, managed to hold their own against their growing rivals—the Vaiṣṇavites.

Two causes enabled them to resist stubbornly the rising tide of Vaiṣṇavism in Tuḷuva. One was the fact that the ruling dynasty of the province—the Ālupas—were essentially Śaivites; and when they did evince a strong desire to change their faith, it was Jainism, and not Vaiṣṇavism, that they patronized.[2] The other cause was that the strength of the Śaivites of Tuḷuva lay not so much in the State patronage as in the support they secured from corporate bodies of Tuḷuva. Of these corporate bodies the most powerful was that of the Niṭṭūru people. Niṭṭūru is a village about a mile and half to the north of Uḍipi proper. The leaders of the Niṭṭūru village came into serious conflict with one of the most remarkable Vaiṣṇava leaders of Tuḷuva—Vādirāja. We must now explain the events that brought about the downfall of the Sthānikas of Tuḷuva in the days of Vādirāja.

Vādirāja lived from A.D. 1539 until A.D. 1597.[3] This famous *guru* along with Vijayendratīrtha had studied under the celebrated Vyāsatīrtha.[4] The extraordinary influence which Vyāsarāya wielded at the court of Vijayanagara and the conversion of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya from Śaivism into Vaiṣṇavism must have had the inevitable effect of creating in the mind of Vādirāja a desire to do for Tuḷuva what his teacher Vyāsarāya had done for Vijayanagara. Vādirāja was correct: after all Tuḷuva was his own province, and the spread of Vaiṣṇavism in it was his own concern. And it was not a superhuman effort for Vādirāja to achieve as signal a success in Tuḷuva as Vyāsarāya had won in Vijayanagara, especially when we remember that his fame had spread throughout the land as one of the most learned men of the times, and as one who had thousands of followers, especially in the whole region of Karnāṭaka. Vādirāja soon got some excuse to execute his plans.

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1 *Ibid.*, pp. 449, and *ibid.*, n. (2). 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 413-414.

3 On Vādirāja's date, read *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVII, pp. 203–210, where Mr. Gode utilized my note on Vādirāja. Prof. B. N. Krishnamurti Sharma of the Annamalai University has, since then, conclusively proved that Vādirāja lived in the sixteenth century. *Annals of the B.O.R.I.*, XVIII, pp. 187–197; *The Poona Orientalist*, II, pp. 1–21.

4 Venkoba Rao, *op. cit.*, Intr. p. ciii; Pandit Shrinivasa Bhat, *Life of Vādirāja* (in Kannaḍa), pp. 22, 35.

In Tuḷuva the great Śaivite, and, therefore, the Sthānika, centres were Uḍipi itself, Udayāvara (the ancient capital of the Ālupas), Niṭṭūru, Malpe (Koḍavūru), Baṇṇiñje, Uppūru, Mangalore, Ullāḷa, and Subrahmaṇya. The Sthānika temples in these centres were the following:—the celebrated Rajatapīṭha (Anantesvara) temple at Uḍipi, the Mahādeva temple at Udayāvara, the Somalingeśvara temple at Niṭṭūru, the Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara temple at Malpe (or Kroḍāśrama, as it was also called),[1] the Īśvara temple at Uppūru, the Īśvara temple at Baṇṇiñje, the Triśuleśvara and Śarabheśvara temples at Mangalore, the Someśvara temple at Ullāḷa, and the famous Kārttikeya or Subrahmaṇya temple at Subrahmaṇya.

The strength of the Sthānikas was centred at Rajatapīṭha (Uḍipi) and Subrahmaṇya. Vādirāja knew it, and at one stroke destroyed the Sthānika, and, therefore, the Śaiva influence at both the centres practically at the same time.

The position of the two parties was the following: Vādirāja led the Vaiṣṇavites, while the Niṭṭūru leaders championed the cause of the Śaivites. Vādirāja was assisted by two powerful local leaders—the Ciṭṭupāḍi Ballāḷa and the Niḍambūru Ballāḷa; while the Niṭṭūru Śaivites were helped by the people of Malpe (Kroḍāśrama), Anantesvara (*i.e.*, Udipi itself), and a vast number of Holeyas (now called in our own days Harijans). The Niṭṭūru corporate assembly had owned the Anantesvara temple and the site upon which it stood, the whole *varga* of Uḍipi having been made in the name of that temple. It was the Niṭṭūru corporate assembly that had originally given to the Vaiṣṇavites the site for building a tank near that temple. In grateful acknowledgement of this fact the Vaiṣṇavites gave annually a specified rent for that piece of land to the Anantesvara temple and offerings to the deity of Jūmādi (a powerful *bhūta* or devil) of Niṭṭūru. In course of time the Vaiṣṇavites built the now-famous temple of Kṛṣṇa and the eight *māṭhas* for the eight disciples of the great Madhvācārya. These events seem to have taken place some time after that learned *guru*. The Kṛṣṇa temple thus constructed faced eastwards after the manner of the Anantesvara temple of the locality. With the intense propa-

[1] Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar calls this well-known Tuḷuva temple, probably on the information supplied to him by Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Uḍabhānēśvara. (Dikshitar, *The Śilappadikāram*, p. 50, Oxford Uny. Press, 1939.) This is an error for *oḍa+bhāṇḍa-Iśvara* (*Boat+wares-Īśvara*) referring to a famous incident in the life of the great Madhvācārya concerning the ship which contained the image of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and which foundered near the Somalingeśvara temple at Kroḍa (Malpe). Personal investigations conducted in and around Malpe between the years 1922 and 1924, and again in 1933, have shown me the correctness of the name Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara.

ganda which the Vaiṣṇava Svāmis of Uḍipi made, especially by the Svāmis of the Uttarādi *maṭha*, a need arose for building a larger tank opposite the Kṛṣṇa temple. And it was precisely around the question of building a larger tank opposite the same temple that the quarrel between the Śaivites and the Vaiṣṇavites was centred. The Vaiṣṇavites insisted on utilizing the space a larger part of which had been used by the Śaivites for dragging the great temple car of Ananteśvara, and another portion of which had been reserved for throwing the plantain leaves used for dining, for building the proposed tank. The Vaiṣṇavites were determined to dig the tank, and the Śaivites as determined to oppose them. The question became serious, and is said to have been reported to Vādirāja, who was then on the Western Ghats. Being unable to come himself, he, however, is alleged to have given an order to his followers in the shape of a poem (obviously addressed to the god Kṛṣṇa) in four stanzas,[1] directing them to oppose the Śaivites and to build the tank. The Vaiṣṇavites carried the day, built the tank in the teeth of the Sthānika opposition, and even wrested the famous Ananteśvara temple itself from the hands of the Śaivites. And about the same time (middle of the sixteenth century A.D.) the Vaiṣṇavites became masters of the Ananteśvara temple, they managed to wipe out the last traces of the Śaivite influence at Subrahmaṇya. But as regards the exact circumstances of this Śaivite-Vaiṣṇavite struggle at Subrahmaṇya, however, we have no traces in tradition. It was probably due to the fact that Subrahmaṇya lay in an out-of-the way corner of Tuḷuvanāḍu.

The causes of the defeat of the Sthānikas, and, hence, of the Śaivites in Uḍipi were the following:—Although the Niṭṭūru people were supported by the leaders of Kroḍāśrama (Malpe) and Ananteś-vara, yet they were numerically inferior to the Vaiṣṇavites, whose leaders were busy adding to their fold on the Ghats. Secondly, the

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[1] The first stanza of the poem, which is now sung on the Tulsi *pūjā* days in a slightly altered form, is said to have run as follows:—

Kollu Kollu Kollu Kollu Kaliyugada kaḷḷarannu ।
Kolladiddare Ninna pūjege kallu hākutīrpparu ॥
Kollu bēga kaḷḷaran-ella Madhva-Śrī-Vallabha ।
Kolladiddare nillaravaru Kaliyugada kaḷḷaru ॥

I owe this poem and many details concerning this Śaivite-Vaiṣṇavite struggle to the late Mr. Paḍamunnūr Rāmacandrayya, himself a learned and benevolent Sthānika of Niṭṭūru and afterwards of Mangalore. Now-a-days the following variant of the poem is sung:—

Kōlu kōl-enniro Sad-guru līle mēlu mēl-enniro ।
ādhārava kaṭṭi cakrava bhedisi nāda-dināda sunāda kēḷi ।
sādhisi supumma mārga maneya pokku bodheya beḷakili beḷa beḷagoḷḷiro ॥

Niṭṭūru people did not possess the financial resources which the eight Svāmis of Uḍipi could command. And, finally, the Sthānikas were lacking in a leader who could match the redoubtable Vādirāja in wisdom and diplomacy.

We can well understand the above traditional account of the downfall of Śaivism and its civil custodians the Sthānikas, when we remember the few facts we have given above concerning the activities of the Vaiṣṇava leaders like Vyāsarāya in the Vijayanagara capital. The downfall of Śaivism and the Sthānikas in Tuḷuva in the second half of the sixteenth century A.D. followed closely on the heels of the success of Vyāsarāya, who had converted Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great into Vaiṣṇavism. The new creed which that monarch embraced may have been partly responsible for the apathy which the provincial viceroys of Tuḷuva placed over the Bārakūru and Managaḷūru provinces showed to the high-handedness of the Vaiṣṇavites in the matter of settling their disputes with the Śaivites.

But that the Vaiṣṇavites had, indeed, dispossessed the Śaivites from their temples in Tuḷuva is proved not only by the poetic command given to the Vaiṣṇavites by Vādirāja referred to above, but also by the following which indicate that there was an element of force in the Śaivite-Vaiṣṇavite struggle of Tuḷuva. The fate that befell the Śaivite deities in the Sthānika strongholds mentioned above clearly proves this. Tradition relates that in the course of the struggle centering around the question of the construction of the tank at Uḍipi, the Subrāya stone (*Nāga-kallu*) in the Anantesvara temple was removed from its place on the south-east of the same temple, and hidden behind a large stone slab to the north-east of the *bhojana-śāla* (dining hall) adjoining the *baḍagu māḷige* (northern storey). Next the Somalingeśvara image of the temple of the same name at Niṭṭūru was thrown out about twenty yards to the north-east of the same temple, where it still can be seen. A similar fate befell the deities of the Sthānikas elsewhere in Tuḷuva. At Udayāvara the god Mahādeva was removed in order to make room for the god Gaṇapati. The former image may now be seen in the vicinity of the Gaṇapati temple at Udayāvara. The image of Īśvara at Uppūru near Uḍipi was relegated into a heap of ashes in the outer yard (*pauḷi*) to the north-east of the temple. The Mahāśeṣa image at Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara was thrown into the tank near the temple.[1] It cannot be made out whether the image of Mallikārjuna now found to the north-west of the neighbouring Śankaranārāyaṇa temple was thrown out there at the same time.

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[1] It was discovered some thirty-five years ago while repairing the tank, but being broken, so the report runs, was thrown into the sea.

The traditional evidence, therefore, seems to point out to the use of force by the rivals of the Sthānikas in their attempt to oust the latter from the premier position they had held in the province for centuries as custodians of the Śaivite religion. We are to assume that a similar fate overtook the deities and temples of the Sthānikas and the Śaivites in other parts of southern and western India, where undoubtedly the Vaiṣṇavites were gaining more and more strength, although it must be confessed that direct evidence concerning this aspect of the Śaivite-Vaiṣṇavite struggle outside Tuḷuva is not forthcoming. While the decline of the Sthānikas in the distant province of Tuḷuva may be definitely dated to the second half of the sixteenth century A.D., it is not possible at the present stage of our investigations to say when exactly their downfall in other provinces of southern and western India began. We may surmise that it began a century and a half later, since we have ample evidence, as the reader must have gathered from the numerous instances cited in my monograph on the Sthānikas referred to at the beginning of this paper, to show that they continued to wield powerful influence in the land down till the eighteenth century A.D. But they were fighting a losing battle, notwithstanding the fact that the powerful Keladi royal family of Ikkeri, which followed the Vīra Śaiva faith, guided the destinies of a very large part of Karnāṭaka, and the kings of Mysore, who were, as they are now, well-known for their religious toleration and broad-mindedness, ruled from Mysore. Neither the royal House of Ikkeri nor that of Mysore made any conscious endeavour to save the Sthānikas and the Śaivites from annihilation; but at the same time no Hindu royal family deliberately added to the difficulties of the Śaivites and brought about their ruin. The downfall of the Śaivites was to some extent inevitable; and, if it is permissible to say so, it may even be maintained that Nemesis had overtaken them. For just as in the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era, the Śaivites and the Sthānikas had violently uprooted the Jainas, dispossessing the latter of the shrines and images, both in the Tamil land and Karnāṭaka,[1] so now in the sixteenth century A.D. and after, the Vaiṣṇavites drove into the background the Śaivites not without a show of violence all over the land. But the fact remains that throughout Indian history, the Sthānikas, as the most influential section of the Śaivites, had remarkably succeeded in maintaining the dignity and power of their office all over southern and western India.

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[1] Read Saletore, *Mediæval Jainism*, pp. 278-279 and *passim*.

FREEDOM OF MIND *(CETOVIMUTTI)* AND A CHANGING PIṬAKAN VALUE

By I. B. HORNER

In the Pali canon there are a variety of terms which, because they evince a change in meaning [1], signify that historical processes were at work. The teaching on the *brahmavihāras* [2], as this may be found in the Piṭakas, is but an additional indication that the world to which this teaching purports to refer was one, not of stable and fixed notions but of shifting and fluid values. If there were nothing unusual in a growth in differences of meaning of terms and values, all the more perhaps was such a growth natural and inevitable where Early Buddhism was borrowing, from some non-Śākyan teaching. Then it is fairly obvious that the 'annexed gospel' [3], its terminology and values, would have to receive a careful remodelling so as to be acceptable and utilized.

In thus presupposing the *brahmavihāras* as an 'annexed gospel', I am not, I think, assuming too much, for a certain amount of evidence has been collected supporting this hypothesis [4]. I will here only re-emphasize a canonical reference found in the Saṃyutta [5], where wanderers of other sects are shown discussing the *brahmavihāras* with Gotama's men. What is clear is that the former are no strangers to the *brahmavihāras*. They are certainly not hearing about them for the first time. Indeed it is they who are raising the discussion. They assert that Gotama teaches *dhamma* to his disciples by way of the *brahmavihāras*, that they themselves teach them to their followers, but they want to know whether there is a difference between his teaching and theirs, or whether they are the same. But Gotama's disciples were unable to answer this question. This would suggest that they had, as yet, received no very detailed or profound instruction or discourses on this subject; that in their

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1 E.g. *dhamma, attha, bhava, nibbāna,* to take four mentioned recently by Mrs. Rhys Davids in *IHQ.* xiv. 2, June, 1938, p. 311.

2 Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine,* p. 225, gives a list of renderings of this term by various translators. See also Mrs. Rhys Davids's discussion at *Sakya,* pp. 217f.

3 Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya,* p. 229.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 216ff.; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Gotama the Man,* pp. 180ff.; E. J. Thomas, *Hist. Bud. Thought,* pp. 50f.

5 S. v. 115ff.

ranks the teaching was more or less new, although as this passage and others show, capable of expansion and alteration.

For whether we regard the *brahmavihāras* as brahminical practices, and a 'direct connection' seems to be shown [1], or whether we regard them as an original contribution of Early Buddhism [2], it is I think undeniable that the aim for the sake of which they were at some time taught and practised, underwent various changes in accordance with the changes and developments that were taking place in the midst of Early Buddhism.

The exact historical evolution of the *brahmavihāra* teaching, away from the old, towards the new, in all likelihood will never be accurately known. Yet sufficient material has survived to indicate that the reasons ascribed, in the Piṭakas, to brahmins for practising the four *brahmavihāras*, that of reaching a Brahma-world on death, became altered verbally, if not essentially, under Early Monastic Buddhism. At the same time a teaching on the *brahmavihāras* themselves persisted, with certain modifications as to the imputed results of pursuing them. For these 'four Divine States, Moods, "Abodes", Livings (*vihāra*)' [3] of *mettā*, amity, *karuṇā*, compassion, *muditā*, goodwill, and *upek(k)hā*, poise, if brought into line with it and forced to yield their contribution, were of potential value for arahanship, the growing monastic ideal.

That such a change in the powers attributed to the practice of the *brahmavihāras* did take place is partly due, I think, to the incorporation at some unassignable time, of the word *cetovimutti*, freedom of mind, into the *brahmavihāra* teaching. It is for instance striking that the wanderers belonging to other sects go through a whole exposition of the four *brahmavihāras* without once mentioning the term *cetovimutti* [4]. But, as recorded, Gotama in telling his disciples what to reply to the wanderers' query as to whether he teaches the *brahmavihāras* in the same way as they do, 'doctrine for doctrine, instruction for instruction', or in a different way, begins by saying to them: 'You should ask them: how is freedom of mind which is amity made to become? What does it lead to, what is its excellence, what its fruits, what its goal?' And so with the other *brahmavihāra* headings. Here a word, *cetovimutti*, freedom of mind, is appended to each heading, while it is conspicuously absent from the wanderers' talk.

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[1] E. J. Thomas, *Hist. Bud. Thought*, p. 50.
[2] Lord Chalmers, *Fur. Dial.*, i. Intr., p. xxiii.
[3] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya*, p. 216.
[4] S. v. 115ff.

Now although neither the *brahmavihāras*[1] nor freedom of mind may ever have been central in Gotama's teaching, yet *cetovimutti* was a word that came to receive a certain prominence in the Piṭakas, even coming to be included in one of the formulæ of arahanship. It would thus seem that, with this word at hand, it was no impossible task to deflect the practice of the *brahmavihāras* from having as its aim the attainment of the company of Brahmā; and then by various stages to lead it to have as its aim the attainment of at least the third of the four ways to arahanship. Freedom of mind would therefore appear as a word of peculiar significance, whose destiny it was not only to occur fairly frequently in the five formulæ[2] which in the Piṭakas are connected with the practice of the *brahmavihāras*, but also to endue this practice with a new bias, at once dependent upon and conducive towards the attainment of arahanship. This was the ideal which, during the evolution of Monastic Buddhism, came to be more and more stabilized and dominant, more and more exclusive of every other ideal.

Yet it cannot be said that where monks are portrayed as addressing brahmins on the results that they may expect from following the *brahmavihāras*, there the word *cetovimutti*, freedom of mind, does not occur. For occasionally it does[3], although by no means always. On the other hand, where a result, unbrahminical and savouring of Early Buddhism, is being spoken of, there the term *cetovimutti*, even once *vimutti*[4], is also usually referred to.

In the Tevijja-Suttanta of the Dīgha, in what perhaps has come to be the classical example of the *brahmavihāra* teaching, the term *cetovimutti* is connected, as is frequently the case, with each of the four *brahmavihāra* headings: amity, compassion, goodwill and poise. This passage appears to admit, with the tolerance characteristic

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[1] Absent from the material of the first and last discourses attributed to Gotama, from the thirty-seven *bodhipakkhikadhammā*, things helpful to enlightenment, almost so from the *Etad Aggas* of the Ang., and there is no Brahmavihāra-Saṃyutta. See Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya*, p. 216.

[2] Based on a common pattern: (1) *evaṃ bhāvitāya mettāya cetovimuttiyā* . . . (e.g. D. i. 251=M. ii. 207); (2) *evaṃ bhāvitāya mettāya cetovimuttiyā evaṃ bahulikatāya* . . . (e.g. S. iv. 322); (3) *mettā cetovimutti bhāvitā bahulikatā yānikatā vatthukatā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā* . . . (e.g. S. ii. 265, A. iv. 150, *cf.* A. v. 342); (4) *mettā me* (or, *no*) *cetovimutti bhāvitā bhavissati bahulikatā* . . . *susamāraddhā* . . . (e.g. S. ii. 264, A. iii. 290, iv. 300). Formula (3) is also a formula for the four *iddhipādas* at e.g. D. ii. 103, S. i. 116, and of mindfulness as to body at e.g. M. iii. 97, the words *mettā cetovimutti* not, of course, being used. Formula (5) is of a different type: *evam bhāvitāya mettāya cetovimuttiyā yaṃ pamāṇa-kataṃ kammaṃ na tatrâvasissati na taṃ tatrâvatiṭṭhati* (e.g. D. i. 251; *cf.* A. v. 299, 301).

[3] D. i. 251=M. ii. 207.

[4] Sn. 73.

of the East, that brahmins want to arise in a Brahma-world on deceasing hence, and no attempt to deter them from this aim is apparent. But the inclusion of *cetovimutti* here would seem to indicate that, although the talk was addressed to a brahmin, and in terms of what was very possibly originally a brahmin doctrine [1], this doctrine was being adapted to Śākyan needs and uses, while a new element was being introduced into it, how far alien to the mind of Vāseṭṭa the brahmin, how far a later accretion, cannot be judged.

It can only be pointed out that in Sāriputta's reputed talk to the brahmin Dhānañjāni [2] on the way to companionship with Brahmā, freedom of mind is not mentioned. Yet when Gotama is recorded to address Subha, a brahmin [3], on this same way to companionship with Brahmā, he further exhorts him to develop the four *brahmavihāra* freedoms of mind. The reason for this discrepancy is perhaps to be ascribed to the fact that Dhānañjāni lived and died a brahmin, while Subha became a Śākyan disciple. It is therefore possible either that Subha received the teaching on making freedom of mind to become, because it had already become or was even then being introduced into Early Buddhist thought; or that this teaching came into the Subha Sutta subsequently, later 'editors' finding it suitable to associate an address on freedom of mind, doubtless stereotyped into a stock-phrase before their day, with one who was known to have entered Gotama's monastic Order.

It is recorded in the Anguttara [4] that a monk, asking Gotama for *dhamma* in brief, was told first to make his mind firm and well-composed; then to train himself to make become the four *brahmavihāras*, each of which is accompanied by the term *cetovimutti*; and then to train himself in the four uprisings of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhānā*). In this passage the development of the *brahmavihāras* and freedom of mind appears well entrenched in the curriculum to be attempted by a disciple. And although placed among the early stages of that arduous training, whose fulfilment is still far distant even when the uprisings of mindfulness have been mastered, such a development is a stepping-stone to accepted exercises which, in their turn, lead on to something higher. The practice of the *brahmavihāras*, in fact, is no longer held to lead directly to the most cherished goal; and this itself is no longer regarded as companionship with Brahmā.

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1 Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya*, p. 216; *Gotama the Man*, pp. 180ff.
2 M. ii. 195. *Cf.* M. ii. 207.
3 M. ii. 207.
4 A. iv. 299ff.

In the Anguttara [1], again, there are two lists which may be taken as forming a bridge between the brahminical motives for pursuing the *brahmavihāras*, and some of those put forward for monks. Each of these lists gives as the last advantage to be expected from making to become freedom of mind which is amity (the others do not occur here) that of 'becoming a reacher of the Brahma-world'. But to this phrase are added the significant words: 'not penetrating (a or the) further (*uttariṃ*)'. Here again a new phase in the treatment of the *brahmavihāra* teaching is evinced.

For it is openly recognized that there is something 'further' than a Brahma-world, indicating that rebirth in this should not be man's highest hope, that he is potentially capable of another destiny. Brahmins, it may have been assumed, had not received the training or lived the life fitting them to penetrate the 'further'. But this would not mean that such a state was not held to be attainable by others. It is indeed tempting to see a connection between *uttariṃ*, (a or the) further, as used in this context, and the devas who are *tatuttariṃ*, further than that. Although these devas are neither described nor characterized, various Piṭakan passages show that they are regarded as 'further' than those reborn in other deva-worlds, including that of Brahmā [2].

Yet whether or not *uttariṃ* is, or was at some time, connected with the devas *tatuttariṃ*, there seems little doubt that *uttariṃ* suggests the idea of a potential rebirth higher and further than that of Brahmā's world. And for early Śākya this rebirth may have been the highest consummation.

But the nature of this consummation changed with the growing need to stop rebirth, a need which spread into Early Buddhism. Consummation, as rebirth, however high cosmologically, however unbrahminical, was no longer required or hoped for. Here and now to cross the floods of death and birth came to be the ideal.

Therefore *uttariṃ* had to be shorn of its implication of a 'further' that was left vague, and which perhaps connoted rebirth with the devas *tatuttariṃ*, whether in bodily or bodiless form was not the point. It is for some reason such as this, I venture to suggest, that the notion of an unbounded 'further' became harnessed, defined and delimited. The word chosen to fulfil these functions, probably in response to some growing or revived need for it, was *vimutti*, freedom. Freedom, at one passage called that 'than which there is nothing higher, which we will realize striving from further

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1 A. iv. 150, A. v. 342.
2 A. i. 211, iii. 287.

to further, from excellent to excellent'[1], came to be taken to mean freedom from everything, including the world, death and rebirth.

It is very possible therefore that the words 'not penetrating further', anticipated a phrase found in another Anguttara passage[2] and in the Saṃyutta[3], which reads: 'not penetrating a further freedom'. There is besides a further similarity, since the lists speak of making freedom of mind which is amity to become, while these other passages speak of making all four *brahmavihāra* freedoms of mind to become. But the lists give as the expected result that of becoming a reacher of the Brahma-world, while the other passages state that there will be wisdom here for a monk 'not penetrating (a or the) further freedom'. The Anguttara puts forward yet another result: that of realizing the way of no-return.

Now, this mention of a further freedom suggests that, as compared with it, the freedoms of mind of the *brahmavihāra* headings are on a lower level, easier of attainment, of less consummate value; and although tending towards the attainment of arahanship, and not negligible factors in the search, they do not rank as a mark of this state. It is queer, then, that *cetovimutti* is a term included in one of the arahanship formulæ. One can only suppose that, in this formula, it is intended to cover every kind of freedom of mind alluded to in the Piṭakas[4], and not only those of the *brahmavihāra* headings; but that, even so, it could not compose the whole substance of arahanship, but is at most an element sometimes present in this state.

Yet even if the *brahmavihāras* and their freedom of mind were not held to lead to arahanship itself, they come near to doing so, doctrinally speaking. For the Anguttara passage[5], to which I have already referred, states that the *brahmavihāra* freedoms of mind, if made to become, will conduce to a state of no-return. Thus the *brahmavihāras* are brought into yet another relationship with Early Monastic tenets. They are here adapted so as to be serviceable in the realization of what came to be regarded as the one goal of the Brahma-life[6].

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[1] A. iii. 218, *uttaruttariṃ paṇītapaṇītaṃ vāyamamānā anuttaraṃ vimuttiṃ sacchikarissāma.*

[2] A. v. 299ff.

[3] S. v. 119ff.

[4] E.g. those which are unshakeable, boundless, void, naught, signless (M. i. 297f.=S. iv. 296f.), extended, *mahaggatā* (M. iii. 146), that which is neither painful nor pleasant (M. i. 296).

[5] A. v. 299ff.

[6] M. i. 64 and *cf.* MA. ii. 9f. The goal is here called *niṭṭhā*.

This is put in a somewhat different way in another Anguttara passage [1]. Here Ānanda is shown as telling the housefather, Dasama, that the four musings (*jhāna*), the four *brahmavihāra* freedoms of mind, and three of the spheres are higher products, produced by higher thought; yet not one of them is permanent, of a nature not to stop. Then it is said that, fixed on this idea of impermanency, the monk 'wins destruction of the cankers (*āsavā*); or if not that, yet by his passion for dhamma, by his delight in it, by utterly making an end of the five fetters belonging to this world, he becomes reborn spontaneously, there he wanes utterly, not liable to return from that world'. In a word, he has attained a state of no-return [2].

Thus in this passage the four musings, the four *brahmavihāras* and three of the spheres are put on a plane that connects them closely with the realization of the monastic ideal. Its attainment, the *brahmavihāras* having played their part, their freedoms of mind having been stamped as impermanent, is more than hinted at. It is practically acknowledged. Yet it is slurred over and hastily qualified by the 'or if not that'. The quick, compressed mention of the destruction of the cankers, tantamount to the gaining of arahanship, side by side with a full-length formula of no-return, merely enhances the hesitation attendant upon the admission that the *brahmavihāras* can lead on to consummation.

It may be conjectured that the lack of a more convinced declaration to this effect has its roots in the earlier history of these moods. Their result had formerly been to reach companionship with Brahmā, a result which, in the eyes of Early Buddhism, was lower than that of attaining arahanship. But, with the assumption found in the Anguttara, that the pursuit of the *brahmavihāras* conduces, through contemplation on the impermanency of freedom of mind, to the attainment of the third of the four ways to arahanship, a great change grown into the reasons given for pursuing them is abundantly apparent. Yet even with the new significance transfused into these moods, the results of pursuing them tended not only to remain at a lower stage than the winning of the supreme goal, but it carried with it the notion of rebirth in a deva-world, as though strongly bound to this by an inescapable tradition.

For it is almost certain that a state of no-return was held to imply rebirth in a deva-world, not necessarily Brahmā's, but in whichever one it was, there to wane out utterly [3]. If this is so,

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[1] A. v. 344.

[2] The passage quoted contains a usual formula for a no-returner.

[3] See my *Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*, pp. 241, 250ff.

then by a remarkable re-wording, the older way to companionship with Brahmā (*Brahmāṇaṃ sahavyatāya maggo*) has been transformed into the more monastic phraseology of attaining the way of no-return (*anāgāmimagga*). And if this attainment means rebirth in a deva-world, utterly to wane out there, of necessity it would preclude the realization of arahanship here and now, in these very seen conditions (*diṭṭhe va dhamme*). Thus this may be the underlying reason why the practice of the *brahmavihāras* was held to carry a disciple as far as the third of the four ways to arahanship, but not further.

EIN BESONDERS BEACHTENSWERTES STÜCK OSTASIATISCHER FRAUENKUNST

By JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI

In der Coomaraswamy-Festschrift, Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art 1937, konnte ich zusammenfassend auf die überaus fragenreiche Gruppe von Baumwollstickereien in Kreuzstich blau auf weiss aus Frauenhänden des 19. Jahrhunderts in den westlichen Provinzen Chinas hinweisen. Inzwischen hat mir Carl Schuster ein weiteres Stück zugeschickt, das, glaube ich, unser Jubilar von heute, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, vielleicht nach Abb. 1–4 für würdig erachten wird, in der Festschrift, die ihm zu Ehren erscheint, besprochen zu werden. In seiner Arbeit über 'Foreign elements in Hindu population' hat Bhandarkar 1911 (The Indian Antiquary) die immer wieder vom Norden auf indischen Boden vordringenden Herrenvölker vorgeführt. Man kann meine Arbeit von 1928 'The Orient or the North' (Eastern Art I, 1928) als einen Beitrag zu diesen Fragen ansehen; leider kannte ich damals den genannten Aufsatz Bhandarkar's noch nicht. Was dieser ganze Fragenkomplex an Arbeitshypothesen zeitigen kann, wurde in meinem Werke 'Spuren indogermanischen Glaubens' 1936 und der Coomaraswamy-Festschrift zu zeigen versucht. Das Stück, das ich nachfolgend vorlege, bildet einen sehr bescheidenen Nachtrag dazu.

Der Streifen ist 1.92 m lang und 0.38 m breit und zum Aufhängen über der vorderen Bettkante bestimmt. Daher zeigt er oben keine Borte, sondern nur unten und an den Enden seitlich, eine einfache Lotosranke. Das lange hellblaue Feld ist dunkelblau gefüllt mit vier, statt wie sonst zumeist fünf Kreisen. Diese sind untereinander nicht verbunden, wohl aber durch je zwei Zwickelfüllungen übereinander in der Art eines Korbes mit wechselnden Ranken in fortlaufenden Zusammenhang gebracht,—einmal in der Mitte oben ein Schmetterling (?). Nur die äussersten Ecken an beiden Enden unten zeigen abschliessende Dreieckfüllungen. Ich beschreibe die einzelnen Kreise von links nach rechts. Im ersten (Abb. 1) sieht man eine Art Lebensbaum im Mittellot und zwei Löwen mit nach vorn gewendeten Köpfen zur Seite. Bei dem einen rechts sind Augen und Mund auffallend weiss statt blau gestickt. Ringsum Lotosranken. Der zweite Kreis (Abb. 2) zeigt ein Katzentier nach rechts in gestrecktem Galopp, den Kopf zurückwendend, darunter eine

grosse Blüte und im übrigen Lotosranken. Der dritte Kreis (Abb. 3) gibt über einer korbartigen Blüte einen dreiteiligen Balken mit vier Vogelköpfen, von dem fünf paarweiss wechselnde Gehänge herabfallen. Übrall sinnbildliche Zeichen besonders rechts und linksläufige Hakenkreuze. Der Rand wird von drei Fischen gebildet zwischen denen Lotosranken vermitteln, oben vielleicht ein Schmetterling. Das vierte und letzte Feld zeigt (Abb. 4) eine nach links gewandte Katze mit grossem Kopf, Glotzaugen und gezahntem Maul. Sie macht einen Buckel und erhebt den Schwanz. Auf ihrem Rücken steht in Vorderansicht ein Mann in chinesischer Kleidung (Oberkörper in Vorderansicht, Unterkörper nach links) und erhebt mit beiden Armen einen Krummstab so nach links über den Kopf, dass die Einrollung nach unten gerichtet ist. Auf dem Gewande sieben Hakenkreuze, andere oben auf den Lotosblüten der umschliessenden Ranke, ein anderes Zeichen auf der Stirn der Katze und auf den Blüten rechts.[1]

Das gut erhaltene Stück ist auf Reisen im Innern von China erworben und schliesst sich, wie wir sehen werden durchaus den Proben chinesischer Volkskunst an, die von C. Schuster und mir schon in früheren Arbeiten bekannt gemacht worden sind. Ich möchte hier die Gelegenheit nur abermals benutzen, um zu fragen, ob es Ähnliches nicht auch in Indien gibt. Coomaraswamy macht mich freundlich aufmerksam auf Tagore, Alpona, Paris 1921 und Zeitschriftenaufsätze, die mir leider in Wien nicht zugänglich sind. Ich bleibe daher bei meinen eigenen Vorarbeiten.

In allen diesen Stickereien ist die ausgesprochene Absicht die Ausstattung von Geräten wie des Bettes, vereinzelt der Kleidung (Abb. 5). Es sieht so aus, als wenn dabei die Zeltkunst mit ihrer Vorliebe für das Muster ohne Ende Pathe gestanden hätte, so auch in unserem Stück. Die Dreieckfüllungen in den Enden des Bettstreifens unten (Abb. 1 und 4) machen darauf aufmerksam, dass der ganzen Ausstattung doch ein Muster ohne Ende zu Grunde liegt, wie es rein in Teppichart Abb. 2 Tafel VI der Coomaraswamy-Festschrift zeigt. Darin spricht sich deutlich genug aus, dass die Kreise nicht nur einzeln genommen werden dürfen, sondern ursprünglich wenigstens in einem fortlaufenden Verbande zu denken sind. Ich gehe nun zur vergleichenden Untersuchung der einzelnen Kreisfüllungen über.

Man nehme Tafel VI meines Aufsatzes im Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art 1937 u.zw. Abb. la und b und wird einen ähnlichen Streifen, aber mit fünf Medaillons finden und dann bei näherem Zusehen sofort eines feststellen: gerade die rätselhafteste

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[1] Prof. Kümmel, den ich um Aufklärung bat, hat diese nicht gegeben.

Füllung mit dem Vogelgehänge und den Fischen (Abb. 3) kommt dort fast genau so vor, nur ist an Stelle des vierten Fisches oben ein Schmetterling (?) getreten. Die Zusammengehörigkeit der beiden Bettbehänge wird also nicht nur durch die allgemeine Übereinstimmung des Musters, sondern im besonderen noch durch dieses eine Motiv bestätigt. Einige Änderungen kennzeichnen die Selbständigkeit des Vorgehens: die Wasserandeutung am Rande unten, ist in dem neuen Stück verschwunden, aus den Augen der Vögel sind Hakenkreuze, aus den Krukenkreuzen und Rosetten der Gehänge Quadrate mit Achsenkreuz geworden. Alles erscheint lockerer in den Füllungen, im Mittellot mehr chinesisch in der Auswahl der füllenden Muster. Das gilt auch für die anderen Füllungen, sie weichen überdies völlig ab, nur der Lebensbaum im ersten Felde (Abb. 1) kehrt auch auf dem anderen Streifen wieder, aber dort nicht mit Löwen (Vgl. dafür 'Spuren indogermanischen Glaubens' S. 103 Abb. 83). Ganz neu sind die laufende und stehende Katze.

Besondere Beachtung scheint mir die menschliche Gestalt mit dem Krummstab über der Katze im vierten Felde zu verdienen. Ich kenne die volkstümliche Deutung im heutigen China nicht, aber es sieht doch unweigerlich so aus, als wenn da der Erlöser gegeben wäre: der gleiche Typus wie er in der christlichen Kunst in Christus über den Löwen und Drachen erscheint, auch dass die Spitze des Stabes—in verwandten christlichen Darstellungen gewöhnlich eine Lanze—nach unten gekehrt ist, stimmt dazu.

In einer grösseren Arbeit 'Nordischer Heilbringer und Bildende Kunst' habe ich die Entwicklung der Heilandsgestalt aus der dreissigtägigen Morgenröte, wie sie öfter in den Veden genannt wird (Vgl. Bāl Gangâdhar Tilak, 'The arctic home in the Vedas', 1903) vorzuführen versucht. Nach meinen Untersuchungen ist sie altindogermanischen Ursprunges und geht auf den hohen, arktischen Norden Europas zurück. Erst in Iran wurde die aus dem endlosen Winter erlösende Morgenröte aus einer Naturerscheinung sittlich gefasst zur Landschaft und erhielt dann im Christlichen menschliche Gestalt. Es würde durch das Vorkommen auf der beachtenswerten chinesischen Bauernstickerei nur neuerdings bestätigt, was ich schon in meinen 'Spuren indogermanischen Glaubens' angenommen habe, dass es sich in dem Typenschatze der chinesischen Volkskunst um altindogermanische, von Iran übernommene Einschläge handeln könnte.

Kennzeichnend ist, dass nicht die menschliche Gestalt des Heilandes, sondern die Katze breit in den Vordergrund gestellt wurde. Die darstellende Machtkunst, vor allem die kirchliche, hätte das Gegenteil getan, die Volkskunst aber kehrt das Motiv um, auch wenn sie es mit der menschlichen Gestalt als Hauptsache

übernommen hatte. So tritt schon Horus im Altägyptischen auf zwei Krokodile (Saitische Stele in Kairo aus Alexandria, Basalt). Aus christlicher Zeit ist die Häufung des Typus in karolingischer Zeit beachtenswert. Drei Elfenbeintafeln im Vatican, in Oxford und Brüssel (nebeneinander abgebildet bei O. Pelka 'Elfenbein' S. 91f.) gehen mehr oder weniger zurück auf fünfteilige Diptychen von iranisch-persischem Ursprunge. Es handelt sich um die Psalterstelle 90, 13 die besonders im Utrechtpsalter, ebenfalls aus karolingischer Zeit, aber in ausgesprochen iranisch-landschaftlicher Aufmachung wiederkehrt. Auch auf der chinesischen Bauernstickerei ist der Lotosrankenrahmen landschaftlich zu deuten.

Im übrigen ist für alle in Asien aus dem Norden vordringenden Kunstströme kennzeichnend, dass sie bildlos sind, d.h. die menschliche Gestalt nicht verwenden. Man vergleiche mit dem Heilandsmedaillon unseres Bettbehanges die menschlichen Gestalten auf dem Osebergwagen in Oslo und wird dann empfinden: die Ausnahmen im Norden Europas wie im fernen Osten sind von gleicher naturferner Art. In Indien wie in Hellas kommt das kaum vor, weil dort der darstellende äquatoriale Süden viel tiefer durchgreift.

In meinen 'Spuren' S. 326f. habe ich einen Beitrag von Carl Schuster gebracht 'Das Vogelmotiv in der chinesischen Bauernstickerei', das den Anfang einer Folge von Arbeiten über Bettbehänge u. dgl. machen sollte, die in Baumwolle von Frauenhänden aus den westlichen Stammprovinzen Chinas stammend und seit 1932 gesammelt, heute eine Fundgrube ersten Ranges geworden sind. Dabei ist nie erwähnt worden, welch breiten Spielraum das Hakenkreuz in dieser volkstümlichen Gruppe einnimmt.

Das Hakenkreuz ist derart Gemeingut der chinesischen Volkskunst in diesen Stickereien von Frauenhänden der westlichen Provinzen, dass man glauben könnte, dort müsste ein Herd nordischer Heilsgesinnung bestehen. Jedenfalls ist das Hakenkreuz in China uralt und vielleicht auch auf indogermanische bezw. nordische Zuwanderung aus dem Westen zurückzuführen. Immerhin scheint es, dass der vergleichende Kunstforscher nicht zuletzt von China aus auf das Ursprungsgebiet dieses Heilszeichens kommen könnte. Ich gebe Abb. 5 zwei bunte Seidenstickereien auf Organtin, 30 cm lang, 6 cm breit, den oberen in der linken, den unteren in der rechten Hälfte. Sie stellen beide Streifenausschnitte aus einem Muster ohne Ende dar, das gebildet wird aus einer waagrechten Reihe von grösseren und einer zweiten Reihe von kleineren schräg durcheinander gesteckten Rechtecken, die in der Mittelraute zumeist blaue oder schwarze Hakenkreuze, in den Enden T-förmige Füllungen rötlich, gelb, grün oder hellblau auf hellerem Grunde zeigen. Es ist das bunteste Durcheinander, wie es ja auch die einfarbige Aufnahme

Abb. 5 noch erkennen lässt. Für die Muster selbst vergleiche man die Zusammenstellung, die ich in meinem Amidawerke S. 136f. für die persisch-iranischen Zierate in Mesopotamien und Ägypten gemacht habe. Die Verwandtschaft ist offenkundig, ebenso die andere in meinem 'Altai-Iran' S. 197f. Man wird sich von dem engen Zusammenhange des Musterschatzes der chinesischen Bauernfrauen mit diesem west- und vorderasiatischen Zieratenschatz immer wieder überzeugen können, dagegen in China selbst in sehr frühe, die Vorhan- und vorbuddhistische Zeit zurückgehen müssen, um ähnlich rein Nordisches in der Grosskunst beisammen zu finden. Nur das Hakenkreuz wird wohl nirgends so kennzeichnend oft und als Heilszeichen verwendet, wie in den Bauernstickereien des letzten Jahrhunderts.

Die Erzeugnisse der Volkskunst gehören zumeist keiner bestimmten, heute noch bestehenden Religion an. So sind auch die westchinesischen Stickereien von Frauen weder buddhistisch, noch taoistisch oder confuzianisch, sondern gehören einem Volksglauben an, der *vor* allen Religionen zu liegen, am ehesten wohl noch mit der taoistischen Weltanschauung vereinbar scheint. Man möchte nach dem, was uns die Kunstgeschichte bisher lehrte, nicht glauben, dass Bauernfrauen in China bis zur Verdrängung ihrer Hände Arbeit durch billigen Schund aus Europa eine Ausstattungskunst besassen, die gerade in dem Augenblick, in dem wir die historischen Schranken zertrümmern und Wesen und Entwicklung des Ahnenerbes der Völker zu suchen beginnen, von entscheidender Bedeutung werden können. Es ist schon in dem früheren Aufsatze der Coomaraswamy-Festschrift angedeutet worden, wie überaus anregend die Beobachtungen sind, die der Forscher an diesen chinesischen Frauenstickereien machen kann, insbesondere wenn er sie mit entsprechenden abendländischen Mustern vergleicht. Carl Schuster hat neuerdings 'A Comparison of aboriginal textile designs from south-western China with peasant designs from eastern Europe' (Man XXXVII, 1937, S. 105f) Muster aus den an die Westgebiete Chinas anschliessenden Südprovinzen, insbesondere aus Ch'uan Miao, veröffentlicht. Es sind nicht Ranken, sondern geradlienige Muster ohne Ende: S-formen, Rauten u.dgl.m. Sie gehören einer ganz anderen Richtung an, etwa der Nomadenkunst annähernd wie Abb. 5.

Nach meinen Erfahrungen kommen für China, das an sich ein Land der Ruhe ist, als vom Norden vordringende Bewegungskräfte in erster Reihe die amerasiatischen Völker in Betracht, die uns erklären, warum China so häufig mit der Kunst der pacifischen Küsten Amerikas eine Einheit bildet; dann die Nomaden Hochasiens, die sich immer wieder durch die Gobi und das Ordosgebiet den Weg zum Hoang ho und Jansekiang bahnen, endlich die Indogermanen,

die von Iran nach dem Osten vorstossen. Die Leitgestalten unserer Frauenstickereien scheinen im Wesentlichen diesem letzteren Ausbreitungsgebiete anzugehören. Und Indien?

Es fragt sich, ob für Indien neben den entscheidenden Indogermanen und Hochasiaten in allerältester Zeit nicht auch die Amerasiaten in Betracht kommen. Sie sind es, die als Händler über Sibirien nach den Zweiströmeländern zuerst am Fuss des Pamir und dann nach Vorderasien vorstossen und die den Grossstaaten vorausgehenden Stadtstaaten begründet zu haben scheinen. Ob da vom Pamirvorlande nicht auch eine Abzweigung nach Indien ging, so dass dort gleichzeitig etwa mit der staatlichen Ordnung am Euphrat und Tigris auch eine solche am Indus entstand? Diese Annahme scheint mir nach den grossartigen Funden wahrscheinlicher als eine Abhängigkeit Indiens von Vorderasien. Mohenjo-Daro und Harappa sprechen eher für die erste Ausbildung der Stadtstaaten im Gebiete des Amu- und Syrdarja.

Die Volkskunst Indiens hat sich in islamischer Zeit, im XIV.–XVI. Jahrhundert auf einem Gebiete betätigt, das den Blaustickereien der chinesischen Frauenware des XIX. Jahrhunderts insofern verwandt ist, als auch da Baumwolle als Rohstoff und Indigo als Farbmittel dient; das waren die Baumwollstoffe, die, in Batiktechnik gefärbt, jetzt von R. Pfister 'Les toiles imprimées de Fostat et l'Hindustan' 1938 veröffentlicht wurden. Trotzdem diese gefärbten Baumwollstoffe um Jahrhunderte älter sind als die chinesischen Stickereien wirken die chinesischen Muster entschieden älter als die indischen, so dass man bei letzteren nicht daran denkt, sie bis in die Zeiten der Gürtel und Ströme zurück zu verfolgen. Sie sind aufgelegt persisch-islamisch mit kennzeichnend indischen Einschlägen.

Ich erinnere an den Aufsatz von Bhandarkar über foreign elements in Hindu population. Es scheint ganz selbstverständlich, dass was aus den schriftlichen Quellen zu erschliessen ist, auch aus der Volkskunst Indiens wird zu belegen sein. Dazu aber gehören genaue Kenner dieser wahrscheinlich durchaus nicht mit der grossen Kunst Indiens übereinstimmenden Arbeiten aus dem Volke. Es war schon in China sehr überraschend, eine volkstümliche Schicht nachweisen zu können, die von allem abweicht, was die Kunstgeschichte bisher aus China zu bringen vermochte. Es sieht auch in diesem Arbeitsstoffe so aus, als wenn die Urbevölkerung Chinas schon von auswärts eingewandert und ihre Kunst von den amerasiatischen und hochasiatischen, später den indogermanischen Einwanderern mitgebracht wäre. Wie ist das in Indien? Gibt es da überhaupt eine ausgesprochene Volkskunst, die mit den nordischen Zuwanderungen gar nichts zu tun hat, lassen sich daneben vielleicht

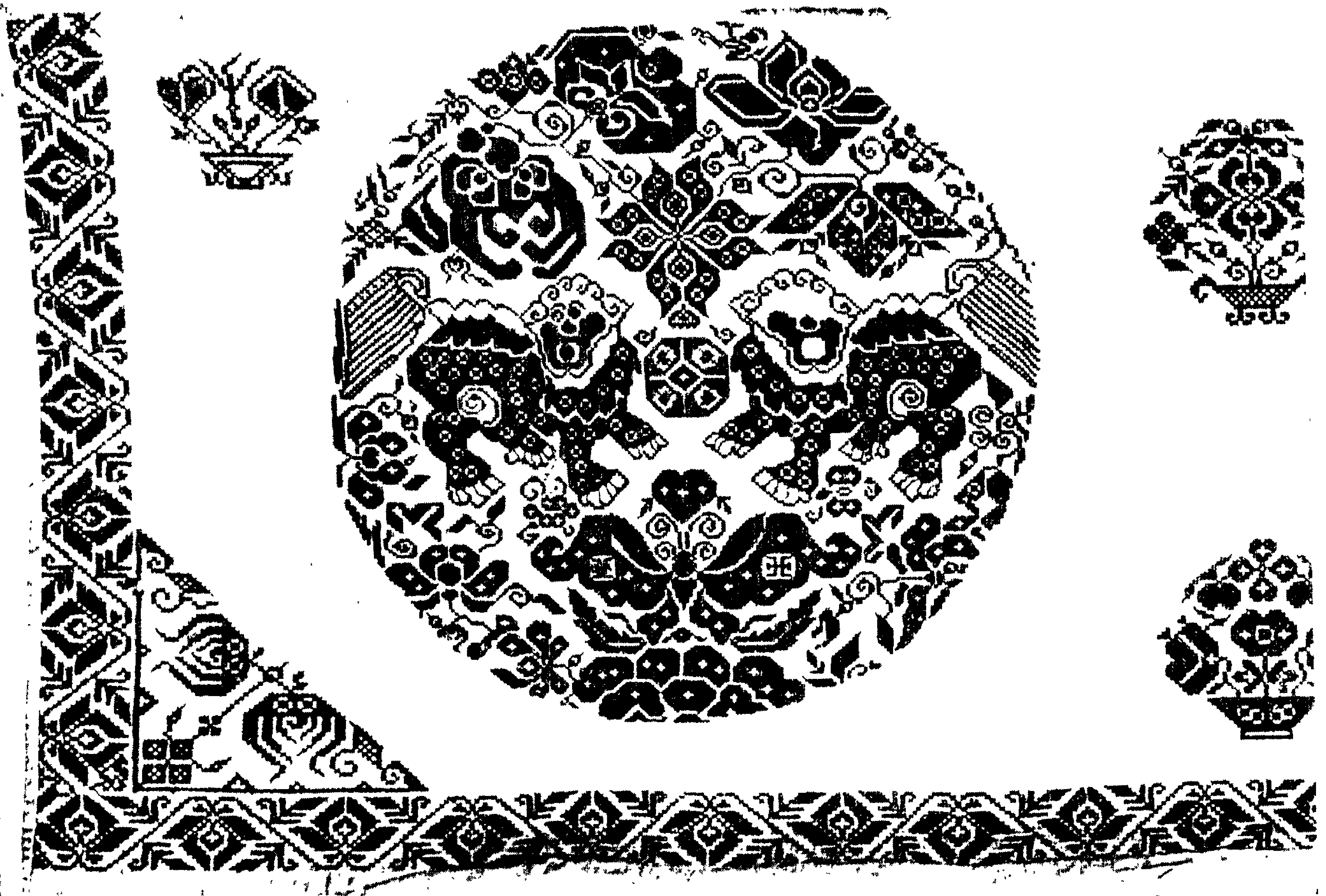


Abb. 1

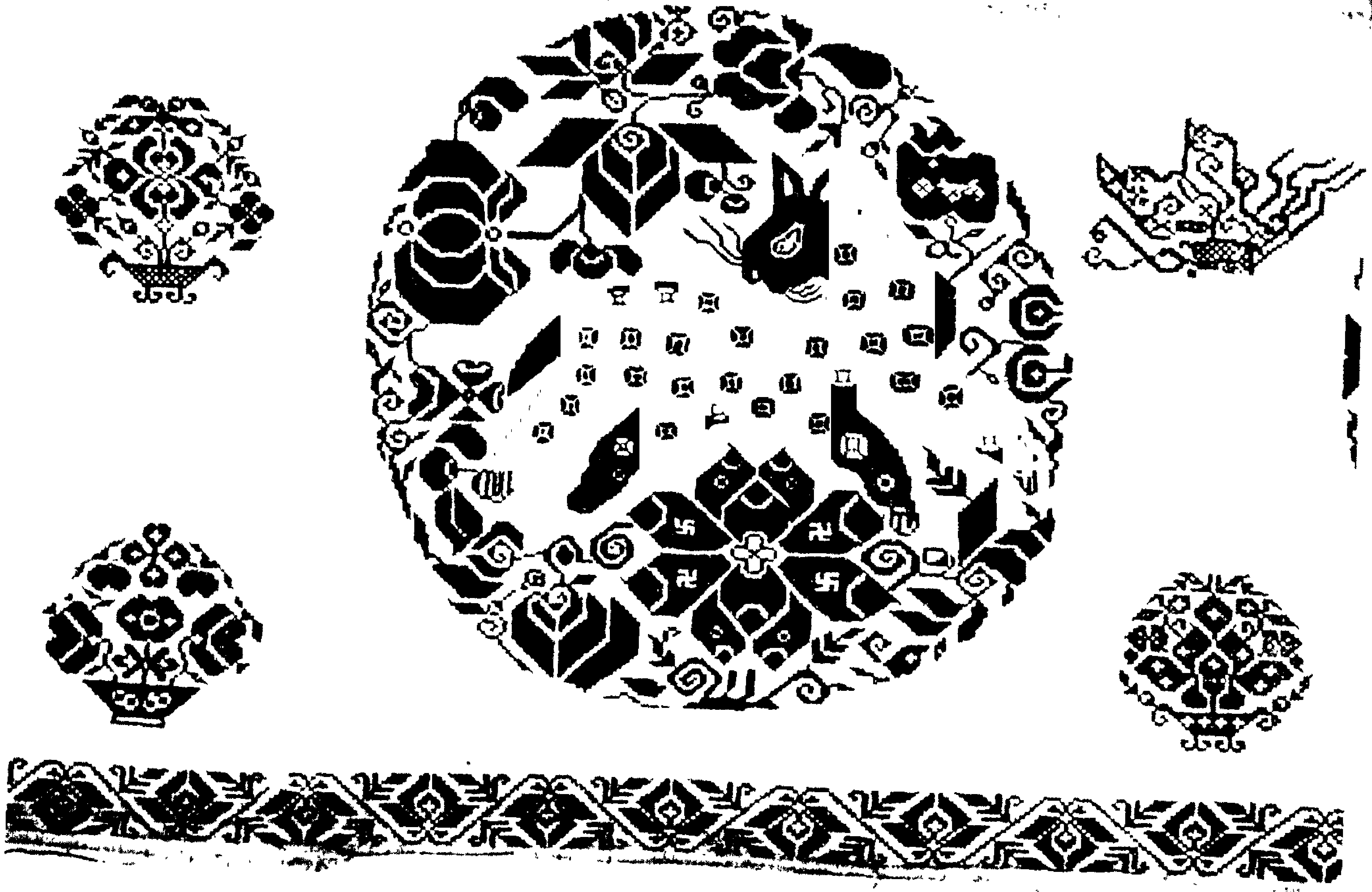
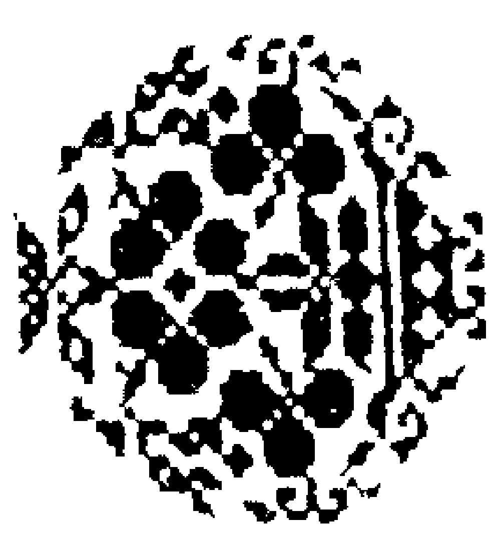
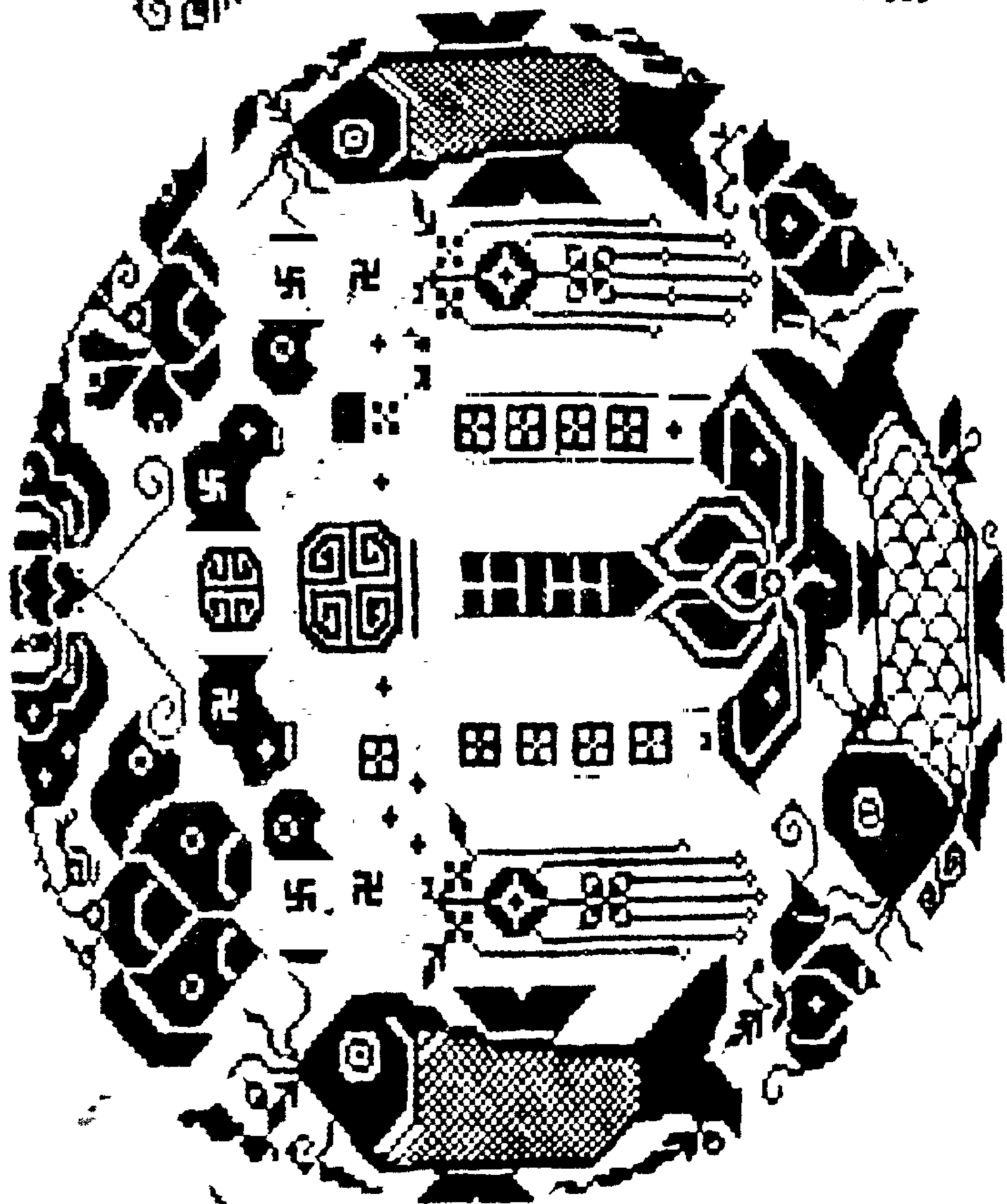
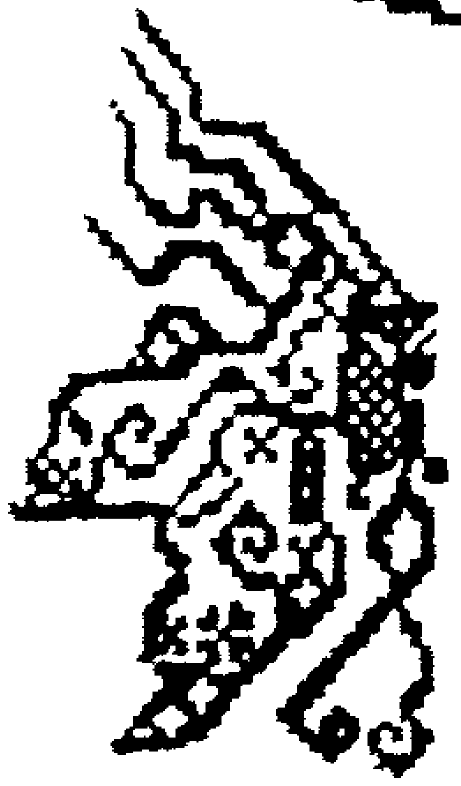
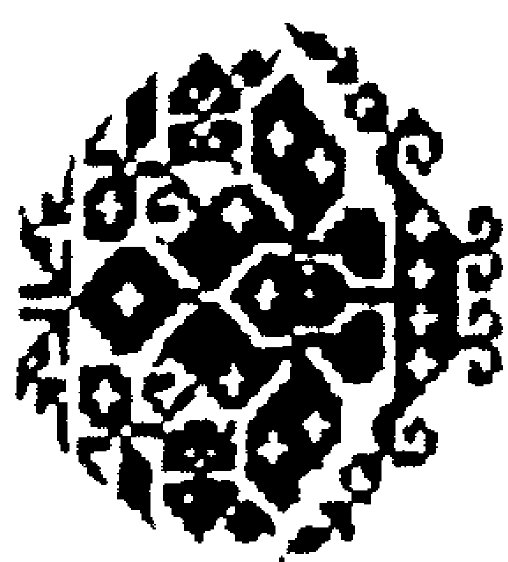


Abb. 2

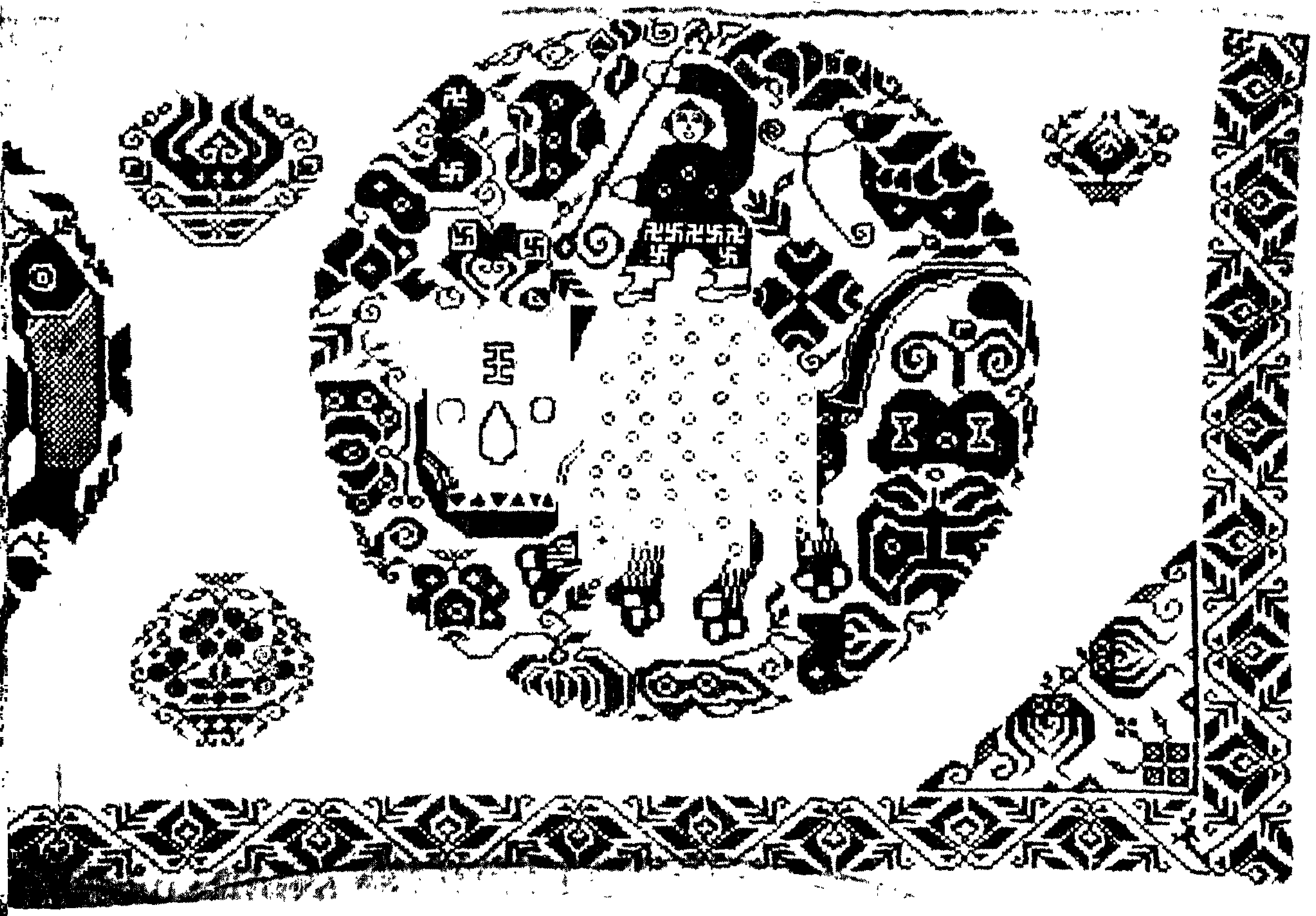


Abb. 4

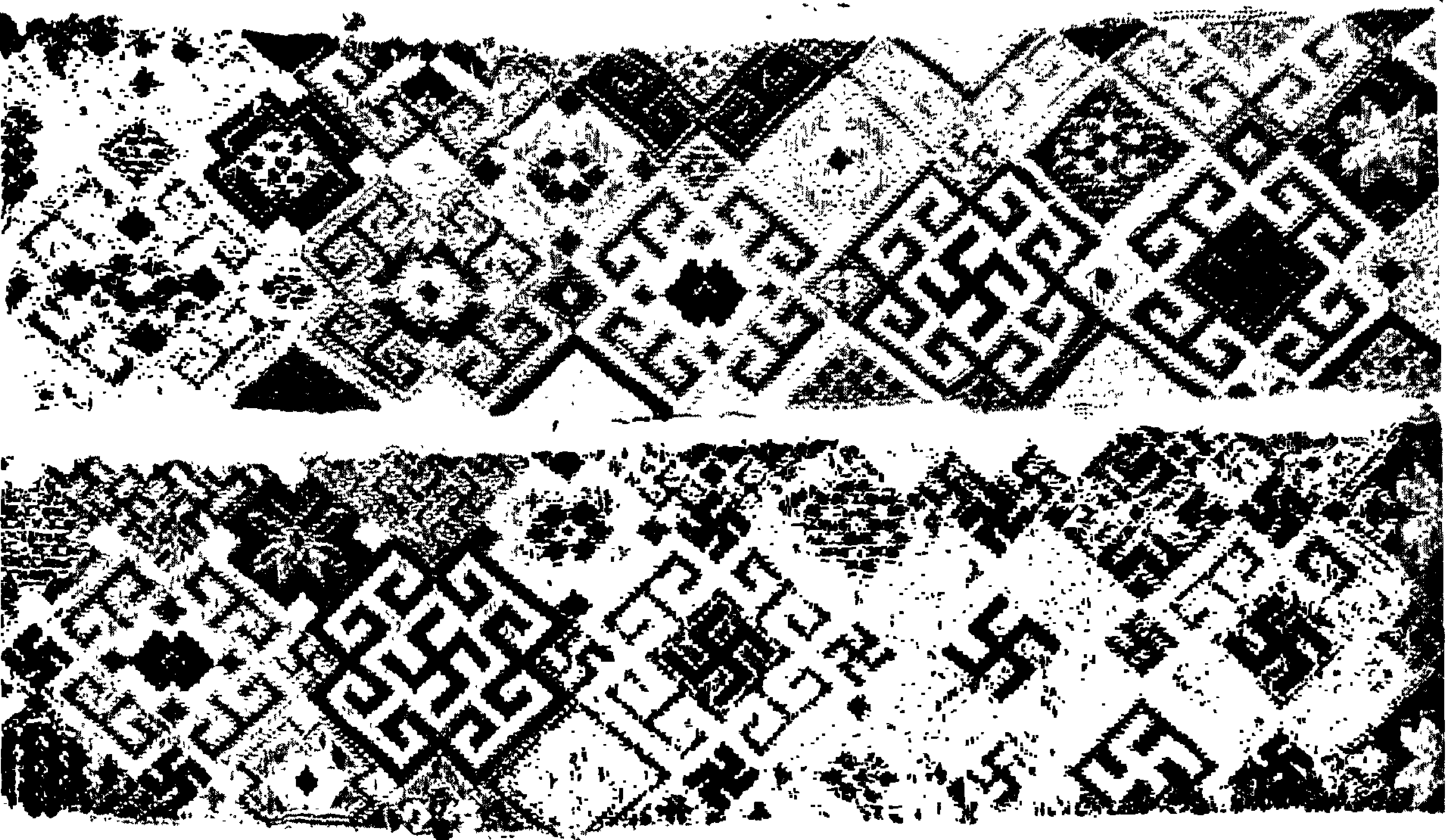


Abb. 5

auch noch andere Belege nordischer Einschläge in dieser Volkskunst nachweisen wie in den gefärbten Baumwollstoffen der Moslim? Ich kann die Fragen nicht beantworten, kann sie nur der Beachtung empfehlen. Im Gegensatze zu China dürfte zu erwarten sein, dass in Indien ein starker und unverwüstlicher Formenschatz von bodenständigen Motiven die Grundlage bildet, wie in der Grosskunst etwa das Arbeiten im anstehenden Fels und das Verwenden der menschlichen Gestalt. Die nordischen Einwanderer brachten bald die Gewohnheiten des Holzbaues (Indogermanen), bald die des Zelt- oder Rohziegelbaues mit (Wanderhirten und Iranier). Das sind alles Fragen, für die erst in Indien selbst die Grundlagen der Beantwortung werden durch Sammeln der Volkskunsterzeugnisse geschaffen werden müssen.

Es ist ausserordentlich überraschend, was da durch die Volkskunde im Gegensatze zur Praehistorie für das Werden des Menschentums herauskommt. Die Vorgeschichte nimmt die erhaltenen Bodenfunde zum Masstab für die erreichte 'Kulturhöhe' der Menschheit. Die Volkskunde aber überzeugt davon, dass darüber hinaus weit wichtigere seelische Aufschlüsse zu erreichen sind, die mehr ausgeben als aller äussere Lebensaufwand. Es sieht fast so aus, als wenn seelische Höhe gerade da vorhanden wäre, wo der äussere Lebensstandard der geringste ist.

Mit der Geschichte und Vorgeschichte allein also, kommen wir nicht weiter, sie halten sich zu sehr an Aeusserlichkeiten, vernachlässigen die innere Welt, die garnichts mit Macht und Besitz zu tun hat derart, dass ihnen ein paar tausend Jahre vor unserer Zeitrechnung und die Begrenzung auf Länder, in denen Steindenkmale und Bilderschriften erhalten sind, genügen. Der Gesichtskreis der Geschichtsforscher, auch solcher über Bildende Kunst, schliesst womöglich mit dem Euphrat und Tigris bezw. mit den Grenzen von Sprachen, über deren Kenntnis die europäischen Gelehrten zur Not verfügen, besser soweit noch das Lateinische und Griechische reicht. Sie suchen auch im Bauen und Bilden mit Vorliebe nur das auf, was dem Mittelmeergeiste verständlich ist und vernachlässigen alles, ja vernichten, wie in den Höhlen des Turfan, was sie in ihrer einseitigen Beschränkung nicht verstehen. Daraus erklärt sich ja auch im gegebenen Falle, dass die stickenden Frauen Westchinas, so lange sie ihre Arbeit noch unverdrossen ausführten, völlig unbeachtet blieben und erst heute ein junger Gelehrter aus meiner Schule diese Dinge an das Tageslicht zieht, nachdem die Uebung dieser Art Stickerei seit einigen Geschlechtern aufgehört hat.

COPPER COINS OF THE ŚĀLAṄKĀYANA KING CHAṆḌAVARMAN

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The coins that form the subject-matter of this paper are six in number, of distinctly five denominations, their respective weight and size being as follows:—

(1) 34 grains
·7 diam.
(2) 23·5 grains
·65 diam.
(3) 20 grains
·6 diam.
(4) 16·5 grains
·55 diam.
(5) 11·5 grains
·5 diam.
(6) 7·4 grains
·40 diam.

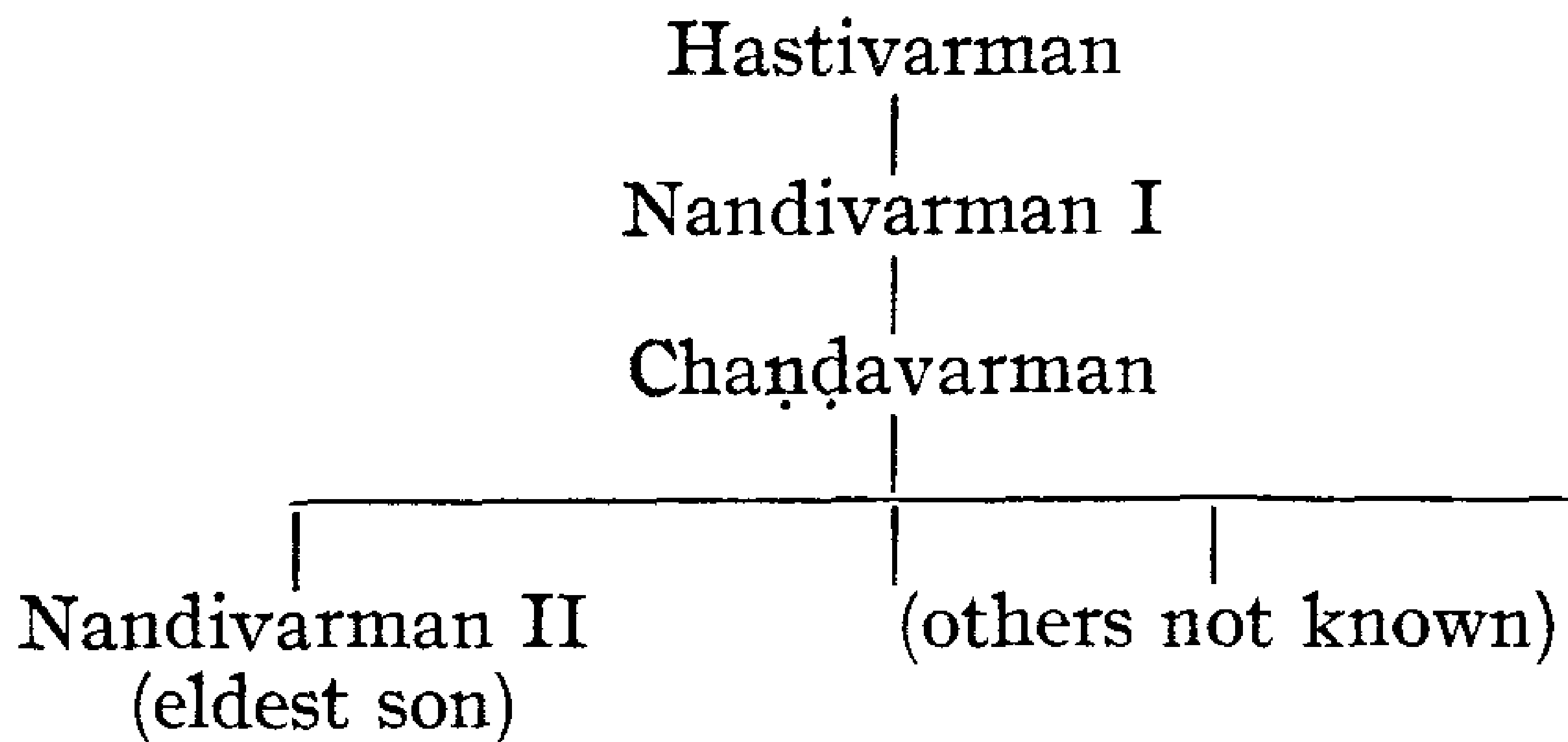
They are of copper and were in the possession of Mr. S. T. Srinivasagopalachari, Advocate, Madras, from whom they were obtained by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of Archæology in India, and sent to me for study. Four of them (items 3–6) have a projection or knob apparently indicating the method of casting known to us already from the Rohtak find of Yaudheya coin moulds. There is a small hole on one of the coins (item 2) suggesting that it probably was secured to a string along with others. The obverse of all the coins shows a bull couchant to proper right (Plate I). On only one coin (item 6) it is faintly seen as both its sides are obliterated. The reverse of the coins shows the legend 'Śrī Chaṇḍava' unmistakably on three of them (items 1–3; Pl. I), 'Śrī Chaṇḍa' on two (items 4-5), while on the sixth it is not clear as both the sides are obliterated, but probably the same legend was meant.

As the coins were found in South India they have to be assigned to some king or chief of the South Indian dynasties whose name commences as 'Śrī Chaṇḍava . . .' If it is remembered that in almost all the copper plate grants of the Śālaṅkāyanas known, the seal shows a couchant bull facing proper right as in the case of the coins under discussion,[1] it will be seen that on the strength of the

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[1] 'The Kanteru Plates of Śālaṅkāyana Nandivarman'—*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. V, pp. 21; Vol. I, pp. 94, Pl. III.

bull and its particular position the coins will have to be assigned to the Śālaṅkāyanas. Hitherto five copper plate grants of the Śālaṅkāyana kings have been recovered, three of them from Godavari Districts and two from Guntur District of the Madras Presidency which help to reconstruct the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty. The first is of Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman, the language being Prākṛt except in benedictory verses.[1] On the seal of the grant (not figured) Hultzsch made out a faint trace of some quadruped which he supposed to be a tiger. But possibly it was the bull that was meant. The second grant is the Kolleru grant of the Śālaṅkāyana Nandivarman, the eldest son of Chaṇḍavarman, but the seal of the plates is lost.[2] The third grant is the Pedavegi grant of Nandivarman II, the same as the Nandivarman of the Kolleru grant, but the animal shown on its seal is indistinct.[3] This grant, however, helps to reconstruct the Śālaṅkāyana genealogy as follows:—



The fourth grant is the Kanteru grant of the Śālaṅkāyana Nandivarman, on the seal of which can be seen in beautiful relief a bull couchant and facing proper right as in the coins under discussion.[4] The fifth grant is of Śālaṅkāyana Skandavarman and the seal, though obliterated, shows the faint traces of a bull, the hump and some parts adjoining it being visible.[4]

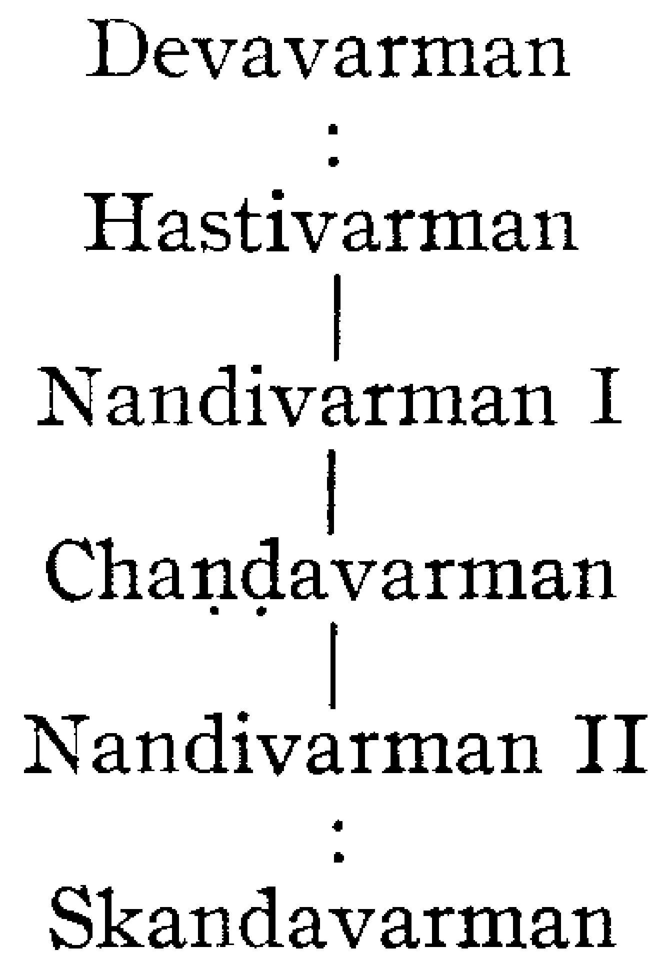
The term 'Śālaṅkāyana' according to Sanskrit lexicons, means Nandī, the bull *vāhana* of Śiva. As the figure of the bull is found on some of the seals of the Śālaṅkāyana copper plates so far discovered, it is possible that the bull banner of the Śālaṅkāyanas gave rise to the name of the family itself. Among *gotras*, the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra* belongs to the *Viśvāmitra* section and has the *pravaras* Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya and Ātkīla. The term Śālaṅkāyana and Śālaṅkāyanaka (the Śālaṅkāyana country) are mentioned by Pāṇini. It appears that the

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1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 57–59.
2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 176.
3 *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 92–102.
4 'Kanteru grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman'—*J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. V, pp. 21ff.

Śālaṅkāyanas (Greek 'Salakênoi') ruled over the Veṅgī as early as the time of Ptolemy (140 A.D.) The Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions are issued from Veṅgī or Veṅgīpura which was situated in a country west of Kaliṅga probably answering to the present Godavari Districts. The Śālaṅkāyana country was the heart of Āndhradeśa and in Chālukyan inscriptions it has been designated '*Veṅgīmaṇḍala, Veṅgīrāshṭra, Veṅgīmahī*', etc.

The Śālaṅkāyana genealogy can be reconstructed with the aid of the copper plate grants already discussed as follows:—



Devavarman's grant is in Prākṛt and is dated in his 13th regnal year while the other grants of the dynasty are in Sanskrit. The next king known to us is Hastivarman whose exact relationship to Devavarman is unknown. He would however appear to be the 'Hastivarman of Veṅgī', a contemporary of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta referred to in the Allahabad Pillar inscription, and hence may be said to date from 350 A.D. Hastivarman's son is Nandivarman I and the latter's son is Chaṇḍavarman who is referred to in two copper plate grants as the father of a Nandivarman.[1] Chaṇḍavarman's eldest son is Nandivarman II of whom we have two grants, one in the 7th and the other 10th years of his reign. If Hastivarman has to be assigned a date such as 350 A.D., Nandivarman may be assigned 375 A.D., Chaṇḍavarman 400 A.D. and Nandivarman II 425 A.D. Two more grants from Kanteru speak of a Nandivarman and Skandavarman respectively. Palæographically both the grants will have to be assigned to the same period as that of Nandivarman II. If Nandivarman can be equated with Nandivarman II who is referred to as the eldest son of Chaṇḍavarman, we may suppose that Skandavarman is probably another son of Chaṇḍavarman and an younger brother of Nandivarman II.

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[1] *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 94ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 175–177.

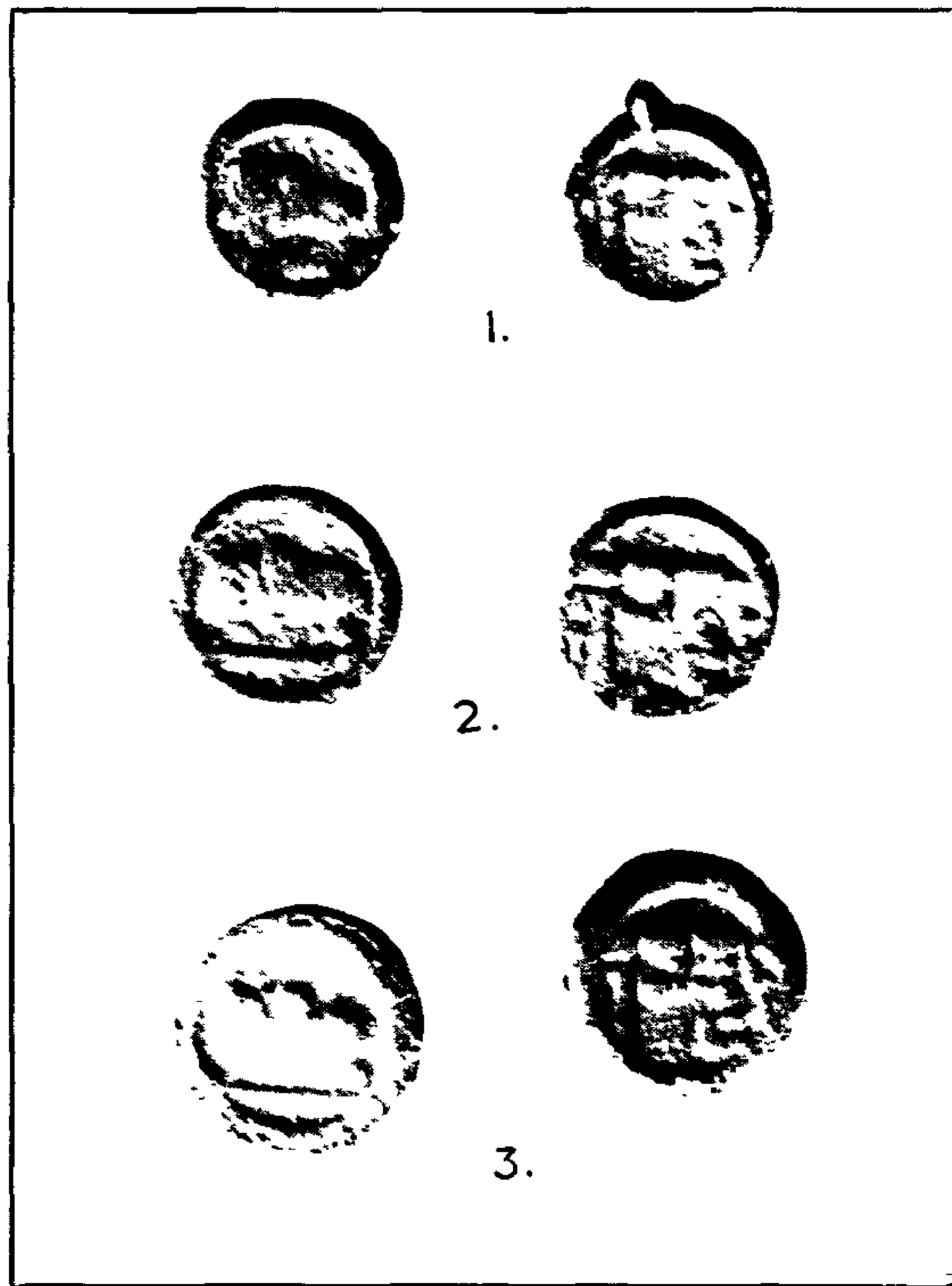
The Śālaṅkāyana dynasty had Veṅgīpura as its capital and had a special cult for the God Chitrarathasvāmin (Sun-God). It is interesting that the remains of a temple dedicated to this deity were discovered at Pedavegi near Ellore. As copper plates of this dynasty have been found in the vicinity of Ellore, Veṅgīpura will have to be identified with Pedavegi. It would appear that most of the kings of this dynasty came after Samudragupta's expedition to the South and it also appears that their kingdom was conquered in the fifth century A.D. by the Vishṇukuṇḍins with the help of the Vākāṭakas.[1]

Admitting that 'Śrī Chaṇḍava' of our coins stands for Śrī Chaṇḍavarman of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty, the palæographical features of the letters show on examination a striking similarity with those of the Kolleru and the Pedavegi charts of Nandivarman II. Thus 'Chaṇḍa' can be compared with lines 2 and 3 of the Kolleru chart [2] and line 4 of Pedavegi plates,[3] while *va* in which the vertical stroke is not clear but the side lines are joined with the *serif* compares very well with the letter *vi* occurring in the fourth line of the Kolleru plate.[4]

About the same period as that of our Chaṇḍavarman flourished another Chaṇḍavarman of Kaliṅga, a grant of whom from Komarti has been published by Hultzsch.[5] This Chaṇḍavarman had been erroneously identified by Hultzsch, Sewell and early writers with the Śālaṅkāyana Chaṇḍavarman owing to the close resemblance between the alphabets of the plates of Śālaṅkāyana Nandivarman and of the Komarti plates of the Kaliṅga Chaṇḍavarman. Both the Chaṇḍavarmans are of two different dynasties, though belonging to the same period, for the following reasons:—The Komarti plates were found near Narasannapeta in the Ganjam District and the grant was issued from Siṁhapura, the modern Siṅgupura in the Ganjam District. But the Śālaṅkāyana grants were issued from Veṅgīpura, the modern Pedavegi. The Śālaṅkāyanas were devotees of Chitrarathasvāmī, of which there is no mention in the Komarti grant which calls Chaṇḍavarman, 'the lord of Kaliṅga', a title to which the Śālaṅkāyanas make no claim. It would appear that the dynasty of Kaliṅga Chaṇḍavarman ruled over the Kaliṅga country with its capital at Siṁhapura while the Śālaṅkāyanas ruled over 'Veṅgīmaṇḍala' to the west of Kaliṅga with their capital at

1 Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 89.
2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 176, Plate.
3 *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, p. 94, Plate.
4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 176, Plate.
5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142–145.

Coins of Śālaṅkāyana Chaṇḍavarman



Obverse Reverse

Veṅgīpura. The Kaliṅga Chaṇḍavarman probably belongs to the family of the Kaliṅga Umāvarman known to us from the Bṛihatproshṭha grant issued from Siṁhapura.[1]

As no coins of the Śālaṅkāyanas have been known till now the present find constitutes an important contribution to our knowledge of the history of South India.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 4.

THE GREEK KINGDOMS AND INDIAN LITERATURE

By A. B. KEITH, *Edinburgh University*

An interesting light has been cast by Dr. Tarn in his treatise on *The Greeks in Bactria and India* on various points regarding the influence of Greeks on Indians and *vice versa*, and it is worthwhile to consider how far his suggestions can be deemed to be suited for definite acceptance. Dr. Tarn's views are the more deserving of respectful consideration, because they are accompanied by the candid and doubtless sound admission that 'except for the Buddha-statue, the history of India would in all essentials have been precisely what it has been had the Greeks never existed'. Nor does he stress unduly the scanty examples of Indian loan-words from Greece—of which, it may be noted, *pustaka* must be deemed dubious—though it may be noted that the date of borrowing is usually uncertain and very possibly posterior to the influence of the Greek rulers in India. It would seem indeed that the borrowing of *kramela* or *kramelaka* for 'camel' cannot be due to the adoption of a new word to describe a new animal, *uṣṭra* being the indigenous name of the two-humped camel of Central Asia as opposed to the one-humped Arabian camel, which by Alexander's time had already been domiciled about the Persian desert, and which was brought into India by the Greeks. In fact, the coins from Menander to the Kushans show only two-humped camels.

Literature, we are told by Dr. Tarn,[1] was produced by Greeks of the Hellenistic period, only when reacting against some attack on their Greekhood. Thus it was, when the Parthians took over the Seleucid Empire east of the Euphrates, that there was an outburst of literature in the Greek cities of Parthia, a response to the challenge of the foreign conquest, the assertion of their Hellenist character in the dominant world of Iran. In like manner we are assured that the Greeks in India came to assert themselves against the heavy pressure of Indian civilization by the composition of poetry. 'We have traced at least two Greek poems, one a lyric, one in hexameters or elegiacs, written in Menander's empire; and a Greek original of part of the framework of the first part of the *Milindapañha*, which reached Alexandria, is about as certain as any work can be which is not actually mentioned anywhere.'

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[1] *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 377f.

But the existence of the two poems must be called into question, ingenious as is the mode in which they are conjectured into existence. There is given in Ptolemy [1] a list of towns east of the Jhelum which begins with Bucephala, Sāgala, and Iōmousa and ends with Mathurā. Now Iōmousa is explained by the Greek *iō mousa*, 'Hail, O Muse', deemed to have been the opening words of a lyric addressed to the Muse, whose name was the name of the city, and the city must have been praised in the lyric; the poem must have been famous in the city, and the townsfolk or neighbours nicknamed the city from it. It is further conjectured that the muse was Calliope, who gave also a popular nickname to a city in Parthia; its official name was Alexandria, the city founded by Alexander at the confluence of the Chenab and Indus,[2] presumably the capital of the southern Punjab. The name Iōmousa 'proves for certain that Greek lyric verses were being written in Menander's kingdom; it would be astonishing if they were not, seeing that we possess a Greek lyric ode written at Susa half a century or more later'.

The last argument can hardly be regarded as having any weight. Susa was not an Indian town, and Hellenistic influence therein is a different thing from Hellenism in India. But what is far more serious is the whole process of conjecturing a lyric out of the name Iōmousa. The view that a town came thus to be nicknamed is one very much in need of a parallel; Dr. Tarn gives us only the fact that a distinguished man in a public address has been known to allude to himself as 'a regular Scots-wha-hae Scot'. It may be admitted that so distant a parallel helps not at all. What the true explanation of the name recorded as Iōmousa is, it is impossible to say, but it is clearly unnecessary to accept Dr. Tarn's version or the existence of his supposed lyric.

The existence of the poem in hexameters or elegiacs is equally deduced from a city name. Ptolemy refers to 'Sāgala also called Euthymēdia,' in the reading of the ordinary manuscripts of his text. The editors, including Renou, write the name Euthydēmia, the editio princeps has Euthymedia, and Dr. Tarn urges that the only reading which accounts for the manuscript readings is Euthymēdeia, which is not apparently found in any codex. It must, however, be noted that the Vaticanus of the 13th century has Euthydē, which lends support to Euthydēmia, though that is a conjecture, and, though Dr. Tarn [3] makes out a case for Euthymedeia as the possible origin of the misreadings (written Euthymēdeia

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[1] VII, 1, 46, 47.
[2] Arrian, *Anabasis*, vi, 15, 2.
[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 486f.

through confusion with mēdeia, itself a mistake for Mēdia, the name of the famous country), his demonstration lacks any convincing character; we are certainly not compelled to operate with Euthymedeia as the true name. On the theory that we are, we are told that it is a poetic feminine adjective denoting '(the town) of the upright ruler', no doubt the virtuous Menander who probably came into the poem. The city became in course of time known by its epithet, just as the Scottish capital might have been described as 'Edinburgh also called Auld Reekie' by a traveller visiting it a century ago.

The more natural view that the name was Euthydēmia, and was connected with the dynasty of Euthydēmus is not ignored by Dr. Tarn. But we are told it is impossible, because it would imply that Sāgala was a Greek city, not an Indian, and Sāgala was not a Greek polis. Moreover Ptolemy is accustomed when he mentions a town which had acquired a dynastic name to give it first, adding the other name in the second place. But this assertion regarding Ptolemy's normal usage by no means excludes the possibility of a differentiation, perhaps because Sāgala was not a polis, and so its dynastic title was naturally relegated to second place, as having little popular support. Conjectures are easy, but the rejection of the obvious reading in favour of a far-fetched epithet, admittedly invented for the supposed occasion, is not to be defended, and the Greek poem falls to the ground. But Dr. Tarn has further evidence to support his thesis. The coin legends of Menander's widow when regent after his death is *basilissēs theotropou Agathocleias*. The mysterious *theotropou* does not refer, as Rapson [1] suggested to her acting as regent, but is a poetical epithet, invented like Euthymedeia found in the same poem, which was adopted by the lady because of her appreciation of the term 'godlike', which accorded well with the fact that some of the portraits of Athena, the goddess, on Menander's coins have the features of Agathocleia. By this portraiture, we are assured,[2] Menander indicated to his Greek subjects that he had surpassed all predecessors by wedding the goddess though in the innocuous form of his own wife, while the symbol of the eight-spoked wheel on some of his coins marks him as a Cakravartin, a supreme ruler, and must not be interpreted merely as a sign of his Buddhist leanings, even if this idea is supported in the view of some authorities by his use of the epithet *dikaios*, 'the just'. This is all very ingenious, but the view that the king claimed to have espoused Athena seems wholly without support. Why Agathocleia

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[1] *Corolla Numismatica*, 1906, p. 249.

[2] Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

called herself *theotropou* must remain undecided, but the whole theory of a dedication in elegiacs containing reference to Menander and his consort, or a regular panegyric of Menander on the lines of Theocritus's praise of Ptolemy, must be dismissed as not merely unproven, but lacking in plausibility. We must in fact reject any theory of the writing of Greek poems in this Indian city as quite without support.

We come now to the theory [1] that the first part of the *Milindapañha*, which is definitely to be placed earlier than Part II, is based on a Greek original. This part is declared to be marked out as distinct from the ordinary Indian dialogue by the fact not only that it is a foreign king who is the interlocutor, but that he seeks to win a dialectical victory, and is no mere piece of machinery to elicit the Buddha's views, as are the interlocutors in the ordinary dialogue. But definite Greek elements in significant detail are adduced. The term Yonaka to describe Greeks as opposed to Yavana, or in Aśoka's records Yona, is deemed to be proof of the knowledge of Hellenistic Greek either as spoken or written. But this is remarkably unconvincing. The evidence for the existence of Yonaka in Hellenistic Greek is very slight; Ptolemy [2] refers to a town on the Gulf of Bushire as Iōnaka polis, and Yonaki in a Chinese record is deemed [3] to support this term. But it is not in the least difficult to trace back Yonaka to the Aśokan Yona, the relation of which to Yavana is not 'probably unknown', [4] but is not discussed as obvious to Indologists. This point therefore must be dismissed as without value. Nor can we claim a Greek original source because we find Yonakas placed first in a list [5] followed by Kṣatriyas, Brahmans and householders: it was impossible to intermingle them with the other three classes, and, as Menander was a Greek, the mention of his followers before the Indians over whom he exercised suzerainty is quite natural even in an Indian writer.

It is argued that Nāgasena's reference [6] to the guardian of a city who, seated at the cross roads in the centre, can see a man coming from east, south, west, or north, presumes a Greek original, for only a Greek would be familiar with this type of city cut into four quarters by two great roads intersecting at right angles in the heart of the city. But it is most unlikely that in transference from the Greek original such a reference would have been kept if it had not been intelligible to contemporary Indians, and there is nothing to rule out the existence of a city of this type in India, whether of

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 414–36.
[2] VI, 4, 2.
[3] Tarn, p. 340. This is wholly problematical.
[4] Tarn, p. 417.
[5] *Milindapañha*, p. 68.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Indian origin, or built on a model which, if not normal in Greece, might yet be followed in the new foundations of the Seleucids in Syria, and extended to India. Even Dr. Tarn makes little of the Greek names, presumably, of the Yonakas of Menander mentioned in the narrative; Sabbadinna looks much more like Śarvadatta in Sanskrit than a rendering of anything Greek, whether Sarapodotos or Pasidotos. We cannot, therefore approach the main thesis of Dr. Tarn on this head with even a probability of a Greek source.

His view of the genesis of the work is suggested by the Epistle of Aristeas to Philocrates, in which a Jewish writer probably c. 100 B.C. ascribes to Ptolemy II discussions with 72 Jewish elders, which reflect distinction on the Jewish faith. The account of the pseudo-Aristeas is apocryphal, but it includes a number of questions ascribed to the king which have no Jewish reference, and which clearly come from a treatise on kingship written by a hellenized Jew probably in the 3rd century B.C. when the memory of Ptolemy II was still fresh. The final source of the idea of depicting a royal interrogation of sages of another faith is found in the Alexander legend which makes Alexander put questions to certain recluses through interpreters.[1] On this analogy we are asked to believe in a Greek version of questions put by Menander to Indian sages, which was worked up in the *Milindapañha*, as the original questions assigned to Ptolemy II are worked up in the pseudo-Aristeas.

The parallel is frankly so remote that it would be worthless without further suggestion of a Greek original, and such evidence as has been adduced to prove this has been shown above to be without cogency. A new point, however, is taken. The pseudo-Aristeas brings in a certain Demetrius and three others, friends of Ptolemy, while the *Milindapañha* gives four Yonakas, and in both cases Demetrius is the chief, being represented by Devamantiya in Pali. Now pseudo-Aristeas cannot have been known in India: therefore we should assume that the idea of four friends came to him from the supposed Greek version composed soon after the death of Menander, a copy of which could *via* Babylon have reached the great Alexandrian library in time for the pseudo-Aristeas to have studied it. This hypothesis is clearly without any probability at all. But it is held to be supported by the admitted excellence[2] of composition of the text which marks it out from all other Indian prose work; there is no difficulty in believing in a Greek composition written in Menander's kingdom, for 'we have already met with conclusive indications of two Greek poems written there'. The last assertion has already been

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[1] Arrian, vii, 1, 15; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 64.
[2] Rhys Davids, SBE., xxxv, p. xii.

disproved, and the whole theory of a Greek Menander's Questions appears to me wholly to lack foundation. It is significant that Dr. Tarn admits that of any Greek doctrine there is no trace in the *Milindapañha*.

The assumption that the formal merit ot that text must be due to Greek borrowing seems to rest on an *a priori* reasoning, which is also applied to find a Greek original for the bit of chronicle in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* which narrates the Yavana conquest, 'for no Indian wrote or understood history'. Perusal of the fragment in question renders this conjecture quite otiose, even in the attenuated form of the suggestion that its author, though an Indian, wrote under the influence of the knowledge of the existence of historical writings. The idea is as unfounded as the suggestions of Mrs. Rhys Davids [1] that the author of *Milindapañha* II with its picture of the ideal Buddhist city had read Plato. The habit of ascribing to borrowing any vague parallel is essentially unsatisfactory. Dr. Tarn himself rejects as correct the assertion of the rhetorician Dio Chrysostom [2] that the Indians possessed and used a translation of Homer into their own language, pointing out that Aelian [3] who knew of a supposed Persian translation also clearly did not believe the assertion. With the rejection of Dio's testimony there falls a chief support for the theory [4] of the Greek origin of the Dohā metre whose dactylic characteristic has been ascribed to derivation from the hexameter, but Dr. Tarn [5] makes a suggestion to render possible the suggestion if renewed by Indologists. The Dohā is the metre specially connected with the Apabhraṁśa speech of which our earliest remains are the language of the Abhīras. But the Abhīras were subjects of Menander 'and Greek hexameters were being written in Menander's kingdom'. Unluckily the last assertion is clearly unproved. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the Dohā was in any way affected by the hexameters of a strange speech.

It must accordingly be admitted that the new arguments add nothing to our evidence regarding the influence of Greek writers on Indian literature. Dr. Tarn, however, gives some considerations which may be deemed indirectly to support the probability of Greek influence by indicating that Greeks adopted to Indian literature an attitude of intelligent appreciation which differentiated their conduct in India from that followed elsewhere. The evidence for this

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1 *The Milinda Questions*, p.133.
2 liii, 6.
3 *V.H.*, xii, 48.
4 H. Jacobi, *Festschrift Wackernagel*, pp. 127ff. Contrast Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 370f.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 380.

contention is interesting in itself, but of course it does not carry us far towards the conclusion that Indians reciprocated by taking interest in Greek literature. It is quite reasonable to argue that Indians remained aloof from the literature of the foreigners, who owing to their weak position were induced to seek to assimilate themselves to India rather than to assimilate India to Hellenism. But the evidence carries us a very little way. 'Some Greeks probably —we might almost say certainly—knew the *Mahābhārata*', but the proof is sadly slight. There is Weber's conjecture that Dio's reference to a translation of Homer indicates knowledge of the existence of the *Mahābhārata*. Be the conjecture true, it is clear that Dio had only the vaguest idea of what he was writing about. Then Heliodorus, son of Dion, ambassador from Antialcidas to some Śunga king of Vidiśā, is adduced, for his inscription at Besnagar [1] concludes with the words, 'Three immortal precepts when practised lead to Heaven—Restraint, Renunciation, Rectitude', and these words have been identified [2] as a concise rendering of two passages in the *Mahābhārata*. It has also been suggested that Heliodorus, who styles himself a Bhāgavata, also knew the *Bhagavadgītā*. With all deference to the scholars who have taken these views, it is surely patent that personal knowledge of these texts cannot for a moment be ascribed to Heliodorus. A foreigner who became a Bhāgavata would be instructed by the devotees of that religion, but that he should himself master its texts may be ruled out of probability.

It is further argued that, if we find in Ptolemy [3] and the *Bassarica* of Dionysius [4] the name of the Pāṇḍava-Pāṇḍus, who were not known to have played any part in history during the period of the Greek activities in India, we must assume that the ultimate common source of these authors must have been a Greek who had read the *Mahābhārata* and taken the name directly from it. This is a far-fetched theory, especially when we note that the country assigned to a people, variously spelled Pandoouoi, Pandaouoi, and Pandai, is that between the Jhelum and Ravi, which accords neither with the epic location of the Pāṇḍavas near Delhi, nor with the facts of the Greek period when the region between the Jhelum and the Chenab was Paurava country, and that between the Chenab and the Ravi belonged to the Madras. Had the information of Ptolemy as to locality been precise, some weight might have attached to his mention of the name, but, as matters are, it is of no account, and the

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1 JRAS., 1909, p. 1055.
2 H. Raychaudhuri, JASB., xviii, 269ff.; V. Bhattacharya, IHQ., viii, 610.
3 vii, 1, 6.
4 Cited in Stephanus. See Tarn, pp. 511, 512.

reference to Pandai in Dionysius, an author of unknown date, but not before 100 A.D., can be accorded no value. It is equally impossible to accept the fact that Ptolemy's names of the rivers of the Punjab are nearer the Sanskrit forms than those used since Alexander's day as an indication that their ultimate source was a Greek familiar with Sanskrit.

But Dr. Tarn has another argument. Justin[1] tells us that Candragupta got his kingdom at the time that Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness, that is in 312, the year in which Seleucus returned to Babylon, which is the starting point of the Seleucid era. Now the Jains have a tradition[2] which makes the accession of Candragupta 312 or 313 B.C., and we must accept that the source of Justin was some Greek in India who read Jain literature, unless indeed he could read Sanskrit and Prākrit for himself. This is supported by the fact that he knew about stūpas, as erected to Cakravartins, and the story of the Buddha's death as told in the Book of the Great Decease. He may have been the ultimate source of the knowledge of the Pāṇḍava-Pāṇḍus. He may have been not a Greek of Parthia who lived for a time in India, but rather a Greek of India who settled in a Parthian city.[3] But it must be pointed out that this alleged knowledge of Jain literature rests on the most insufficient evidence; one does not need to be able to read Sanskrit or Prākrit to know that the Jains had a certain date for Candragupta, but apart from this it is not in the slightest degree certain that Justin's ultimate source had any knowledge of the date. Indeed the wording of Justin is far from favourable to the view that he was referring to 312 when Seleucus returned to Babylon. The wording with its use of imperfects refers rather to a prolonged period during which Seleucus was working for a bid for power, not to a decisive moment. We may, therefore, safely dismiss the writer who read Sanskrit and Prākrit as a real factor.

Dr. Tarn is admirably cautious on the subject of Greek influence on Sanskrit drama, but he makes one very dubious point.[4] Sophocles, we are assured, reached India, and the argument is based on the existence of a fragment of a vase found near Peshawar on which is the scene from the *Antigone* in which Haemon begs Creon for the life of Antigone. From the fact that the vase was of local manufacture, it is held to prove that somebody in Gandhāra was interested in Sophocles, and there is therefore no reason to doubt a knowledge of Euripides also at Puṣkalāvatī or any other important Greek centre.

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1 xv, 4, 20.
2 *Cambridge Hist. of India*, i, 698.
3 Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 382.

But surely all that it proves is that a Greek vase with such a scene was imitated in Gandhāra, very probably by some potter who knew nothing about the meaning of the scene. Even Greek potters, we may be fairly certain, often made pots without any idea of the significance of what they depicted thereon. That there may have been contact with Greek drama is a perfectly legitimate assumption, but that it had an effect on Indian dramatists is the point on which there is no evidence.

Dr. Tarn is inclined to favour some influence on the growth of Indian drama from the Greek mime, as suggested by Dr. Reich [1] and supported by some other scholars. He thinks that companies of mime actors did visit India, but adduces no sufficient grounds. The fact that Antiochus IV included mimes in his triumphal celebrations at Daphne proves nothing whatever for India. It is suggested, however, that the extant parody [2] of Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, in which the barbarian king is an Indian and talks pseudo-Indian gibberish, may bear on this, but surely this is a conjecture without foundation or plausibility and should be dismissed. We come, therefore, to the famous Yavanikā,[3] the curtain against which Indian plays were acted. It should, however, be noted that this is going rather far; the Yavanikā is the curtain which covers the entrance to the tiring room whence emerge and into which retire the actors. But what must be noted is that admittedly Greek dramas were not acted against a curtain, but Roman, and therefore presumably Greek, mimes usually were, and the Yavanikā must be the siparium of the mime players. I confess that the argument seems to have little cogency. We are to assume that Greek mimes were played against a curtain because Roman mimes were, a singularly unconvincing contention. We are further to assume that such mimes were played by Greeks in India, without a single piece of evidence, and that from these hypothetical mime displays the Indians borrowed the use of a curtain, not for the sake of a background but simply to hide the entrance spaces. Is it not commonsense to hold that the Indians had sufficient intelligence not merely to create a drama but to conceal entrances? The only other point deemed acceptable by Dr. Tarn is the correspondence of the sūtradhāra and the sūtradhārī with the Greek archimimus and archimima, and that is clearly minimal. Dr. Tarn himself feels doubt as to borrowing and rejects with complete propriety Reich's suggestion that the woman actor, being against the canons of India in serious drama, must have been borrowed from Greece, for the archimima was equally against the canons of

1 *Der Mimus*, i, 694.

2 *Pap. Oxy.*, iii, 413.

3 Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 61.

classical Greece in serious drama. All that is left, therefore, as perhaps borrowed besides the curtain, is perhaps a stock character like the fool, and the suggestion is quite unnecessary.

Indeed Dr. Tarn contributes two suggestions [1] which help to strengthen the case against Indian borrowing. If there was influence, he thinks, it must have been confined to form; in substance the Indian drama is remote from Greece. Secondly, the alleged borrowing of recognition scenes from Menander has no value; in early unsettled societies recognitions were natural material for the drama; thus the old Peruvian play called *Apu Ollantay*, composed in the reign of the Inca Tupac Yupanqui and written down after the Spanish conquest, turns entirely on two recognitions, the first of her lost daughter by the imprisoned princes, and the second, through the child, of the princess by her husband and by her brother, the Inca. It is clearly incredible that the author, who knew nothing of the New World or of reading and writing, should have borrowed from anything but the facts of life, as did Menander and the Greeks in their turn from contemporary society.

We may, therefore, assume that, where Dr. Tarn's wide reading, and strong powers of imaginative construction, fail to bring us anything convincing, we are right to hold that evidence of the influence of Greek literature, associated with the presence of Greek dynasts in India, on Indian literature is wholly negligible. Doubtless a negative finding of this kind must disappoint those who believe in the principle of the diffusion of every form of culture, and reject the hypothesis of independent creation in different centres, but, so long as we place any faith in evidence, the result must be negative in this particular field.

Indians, it appears, were so rooted in their own civilization as to be largely impervious to Greek civilization. We have little evidence that even in such places as were perhaps organized as Greek cities Indians desired to accept the role of citizens. Dr. Tarn [2] indeed finds evidence of such cases in the Yavanas who have Indian names; he denies emphatically the possibility of Greeks adopting Indian names, and supports this denial by pointing out that, while many cases are clearly recorded, especially in Palestine and Babylon, in which Asiatics [3] took Greek names, the reverse process is supported only by one dubious case. But Dr. Tarn himself has several times insisted that the position of the Greeks in India

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 385.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 255.

[3] None of those were Indians, for the one case suggested is clearly unsound; see Tarn, pp. 370, n. 2, 389, n. 8.

differed substantially from their position elsewhere, so that his argument is not consistent with one of his main theories. Moreover he admits that there were Śakas who adopted Kṣatriya names ending in *-varman* and *-datta*, and that the Kushan Vasudeva bears an Indian name, but these cases he deems not in point. Conquerors, he contends, did not, if in affluent circumstances as were these Yavanas of the dedications, take the names of the conquered. But he has, on his own theory that they were Indians who called themselves Yavanas because they were admitted to citizenship of a Greek community, to point out that in the Seleucid cities the admission of Asiatics to citizenship seems not to be recorded, so that Demetrius stands out as departing from Seleucid practice and as making his Indian Empire a kind of partnership.[1] If we admit this policy, why object to Greeks who favoured it going so far as to adopt Indian names?

Dr. Tarn's theory is supported by him by the description in an inscription at Karli of an anonymous donor as Dhammayavana, which he understands not as 'Yavanus secundum legem' with S. Lévi,[2] presumably as one who has been legally made a Greek, but as a Yavana who does the duty of a Yavana, just as Dharmarāja means a king who does the whole duty of a king. In this case that means a Yavana by reason of his performing the duties of a citizen of a Greek city. Whether Lévi's view or Dr. Tarn's be right need not here be discussed, for the point is that to argue from this name or description of a donor to the cases of persons of Indian name who described themselves as Yavanas is wholly illegitimate. A Dhammayavana and a Yavana are presumably very different things; to identify them is quite illegitimate, and the presumption is simply that with the passing of time Greeks like Śakas were ready to assimilate themselves into the society with which their lives were associated by adopting Indian names. If they were ready to make donations for Buddhist purposes, why should they have objected to taking Indian names? We need not be troubled by the alleged difficulty of Indrāgnidatta, the Yonaka, having an Indian father, Dhammadeva. We need only suppose that his father before him had adopted an Indian name and given one to his young son. Why refuse the obvious explanation, when the alternative is to confess[3] that 'it is strange that, at the farthest point of the earth's surface which any Greek citizen can so far have reached, we should find these Indian citizens, when long years of excavation

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1 Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 281, 257.
2 *Quid de Graecis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderint*, p. 5.
3 Tarn, p. 257.

at Doura and in Babylonia have failed to throw light on the question of Asiatic citizens in the Greek cities in Asia'. It is indeed so strange that it should not be accepted. The only defence adduced is that there is independent evidence [1] of the citizenship of Indians in Greek cities in the Kharoṣṭhī monograms on the coins of some of the later kings of the eastern Punjab, which show that their moneyers were sometimes Indians. These Indians, we are assured, must have been citizens to act as moneyers. That they were Indians is deduced merely from the script, but, granting this, that they were admitted as citizens with the ordinary duties of Greek citizens is a conjecture wholly without authority. We must therefore dismiss as unproved and wholly improbable the idea of Indian citizens of Greek cities, leaving to the future to determine exactly what the name or description Dhammayavana at Karli denotes.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 356ff.

OFFICE OF UPARIKA

By B. Ch. Chhabra, *Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund*

Uparika is the designation of a functionary who is frequently mentioned in inscriptions mostly of the northern India. He figures among various State officials to whom usually a charter is addressed. Since it has not been possible to determine the exact nature of the functions of this official, the term has, almost in every instance, been left unexplained. Some scholars have endeavoured to interpret it, but, as will presently be seen, their views do not agree. Like so many other epigraphical terms, *Uparika* is seldom met with in literature.

Whereas the office of *Uparika* existed even in pre-Christian period as will be shown below, the earliest reference to it in epigraphy is perhaps to be found in the inscriptions of the Guptas or of the early Gupta period. Thus two specimens of the sealings from Basarh belong to an *Uparika*, the legend on them reading *Tīrabhukty-uparik-ādhikaraṇasya*.[1] To this the editor, T. Bloch, adds the following comment: '*Uparika* means a class of officials, whose exact functions are not known.'

In the Bihar stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta *Uparika* is mentioned along with several other officials, where it precedes *Kumārāmātya*. Commenting upon it Fleet observes: '*Uparika* is a technical official title, the exact purport of which is not known, and a suitable rendering of which cannot be offered at present.'[2] The term recurs in the Dēō-Baraṇārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II, where it is preceded by *Kumārāmātya* and *Rājasthānīya*.[3] Certain personages, bearing the title *Uparika*, acted as *Dūtaka* in some of the Uchchakalpa records.[4] In all these cases the title has been left untranslated.

Seeing that *Uparika* is mentioned side by side with *Kumārāmātya*, Vogel has remarked that 'perhaps we may assume some

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[1] *A.R., A.S.I.* for 1903-04, p. 109, Seal No. 20. T. Bloch's rendering '(Seal) of Chief of *Uparikas* of Tīrabhukti (district of Tīra)' has been corrected by J. Ph. Vogel as '[Seal] of the Court (or Office) of the Uparika(s) of Tīrabhukti (*i.e.*, Tirhut)'. *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p. 123.

[2] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 52, n. 1.

[3] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 218.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 124, 134.

connection between the two offices '.[1] This is right inasmuch as both of them denote high ranks. As is clear from the Dēō-Baraṇārk inscription referred to above, *Uparika* is associated not only with *Kumārāmātya* but also with several other officers of more or less equal dignity, such as *Rājasthānīya, Antaraṅga, Daṇḍanāyaka, Daṇḍapāśika* and so forth.[2]

It is, however, disclosed by some copper-plate inscriptions from Dāmodarpur in Bengal, belonging to the time of Kumāragupta I, that an *Uparika* was a higher authority than a *Kumārāmātya*, since the latter is stated to have been appointed as a district officer by the former in the capacity of a governor under the Gupta monarch.[3] Judging from this instance, the term *Uparika* is rendered as 'prime minister' by Pt. Binayak Misra.[4]

In some records from Bengal *Uparika* is replaced by *Bṛihad-uparika.*[5] The prefixed word *bṛihad* in this case seems hardly to have any additional significance. Moreover, in such inscriptions, *Bṛihad-uparika* is always preceded by *Antaraṅga.* Mr. R. G. Basak takes both the words as forming one designation *Antaraṅgabṛihad-uparika,* which he translates as 'chief privy-councillor'.[6]

In the two copper-plates from Taleśvara, Almora district, U.P., we have *Daṇḍoparika*[7] instead of *Uparika.* Their editor, Mr. Y. R. Gupte, renders it by 'prefect of police' or 'police officer'.[8] It is doubtful whether *daṇḍa* is an independent word here or whether it is prefixed to *Uparika.*

It must be clear from the above citations that the term *Uparika* is very widely used in inscriptions, that nowhere a proper rendering of it has been offered and that where any has been offered it is mere guess-work, not supported by any authority.

As pointed out elsewhere,[9] we have the definition of *Uparika* given by so ancient an authority as Bṛihaspati, which indicates how the office of *Uparika* existed even in remote past. It is quoted by Viśvarūpāchārya in his commentary *Bālakrīḍā* on the *Yājña-*

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1 J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State,* p. 123.

2 See, for example, Madhuban copper-plate of Harsha, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. I, p. 72, text l. 9; Patiakella grant of Śivaraja, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, p. 287, text l. 6; Belava copper-plate of Bhojavarmadeva, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XII, p. 40, text l. 31; Nivinna grant of Dharmarājadeva, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXI, p. 41, text l. 37.

3 *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XV, p. 114, *et passim.*

4 See his *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings,* (1934), p. 97.

5 N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal,* Vol. III, Nos. III, VI–XI, p. 185; *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XII, pp. 9, 40; Vol. XIV, p. 160; Vol. XXI, p. 217.

6 *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XII, p. 43.

7 *Ibid.,* Vol. XIII, pp. 115, 119.

8 *Ibid.,* pp. 117, 120.

9 *Ibid.,* Vol. XXIV, p. 134.

valkyasmṛiti while commenting on the verse 307 in the *Rājadharma-prakaraṇa* of this work.[1] It reads: *avikāryo='vikal-endriyaḥ pratāpa-vān subhaghaḥ sumukho='kṛipaṇo='pramādī daksho dākshiṇya-chāritra-rakshaṇ-ārtham = adhikaraṇa-sandigdha-viveka-krid = upari-kaḥ syād*, i.e., 'a man who is resolute, sane, energetic, blissful, personable, generous, vigilant, dextrous and capable of administering justice in legal disputes should be (*appointed as*) *Uparika* in order to maintain impartiality and morality'. From this it is obvious that an *Uparika* was invested with twofold authority judicial and administrative. His office may, therefore, correspond to that of 'a magistrate'.

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[1] *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* with the commentary *Bālakrīḍā* edited by T. Ganapati Sastri (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. LXXIV), pp. iv and 184.

ART AND SCIENCE OF ARCHITECTURE

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'It is the artist and his creation that come first and then the law-giver and codes of art. Art is not for the justification of the *Śilpa-śāstra*, but the *Śāstra* is for the elucidation of art. It is the concrete which is evolved first, and then come its analyses and its commentaries, its standard and its proportions codified in the form of *Śastrā*.' [1] This dictum is applicable to the conditions of all ancient countries when the first builders had nothing within the range of their knowledge whereform they could imitate or borrow. When the then inhabitants of India began to build, in the neolithic age, shelters in imitation of natural caves to protect themselves from the inclemency of weather and sepulchres for the preservation of their revered dead ancestors, there were no structures within their knowledge wherefrom they could borrow any design or technical skill for construction. This neolithic age in India must be anterior by a few thousand years to the Mahenjo-Daro age of B.C. 3250–2750 when extensive towns and houses of numerous sizes and descriptions came into being. The town-plan and house-design of this period show considerable building skill and much developed architectural design. The extant examples will justify the assumption that those constructions were regulated by well-known rules of engineering. But no treatises or commentaries, written or oral, codifying analyses, proportions and standards and styles out of which those constructions might have grown up are available. Nor are traceable any properly codified guide books based upon an analysis of the Mohenjo-Daro structures. But in the subsequent Vedic Period more substantial and pretensious buildings are frequently referred to.

We have got clear references to huts built for agriculturist villagers of the early Vedic period with materials like straw, reeds, bamboo, clay and unburnt bricks. For priestly and aristocratic classes of towns more substantial houses were built of burnt bricks and stones. Forts, castles, palaces, and cemeteries of round and square types were built of properly dressed stones of various kinds. The *Śmaśāna* buildings comprise reliquaries, memorial buildings and monumental pillars. Atri was 'thrown into a machine room

[1] Abanindranath Tagore, Modern Review, March, 1934.

with a hundred doors' (R.V. I, 112, 7), Vasishṭha had 'a three-storied dwelling (R.V. (Wilson) IV. 200). A sovereign 'sits down in his substantial and elegant hall built with a thousand pillar' (R.V. II. 313). Royal palaces were built of such pillars, which were 'vast, comprehensive and thousand-doored' (R.V. IV. 179). Mention is made of 'a palace with a thousand pillars and a thousand gates' [1] Vedic sacrifices required altars and thus a demand was made not merely for an accurate construction of various altars but also for scientific rules regulating those constructions. Those altars were required for the great *Soma* sacrifice. The earliest enumeration of them is found in the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* (V. 4, 11). Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, in the *Sulva-sūtras*, the supplementary portions of the *Kalpa-sūtras*, supply the full particulars of these *chitis* and the bricks which were employed for their construction. As many as nine designs [2] are elaborated. Everyone of these altars was constructed of five layers of bricks, which together came up to the height of the knee. In some cases ten or fifteen layers and proportionate increase in the height of the altar, were prescribed. Every layer in its turn was to consist of two hundred bricks so that the whole *agni* (altar) contained a thousand; the first, third, and fifth layers were divided into two hundred parts in exactly the same manner; a different division was adopted for the second and the fourth, so that one brick was never laid upon another of the same size and form.

The first altar covered an area of 7½ *puruska* or squares each side of which was equal to the height of a man with uplifted arms. On each subsequent occasion the area was increased by one square *purusha*. Thus, at the second layer of the altar one square *purusha* was added to the 7½ constituting the first *chiti*, and the third layer two square *purushas* were added, and so on. But the shape of the whole and the relative proportion of each constituent part had to remain unchanged. The area of every *chiti*, whatever its shape might be—the falcon, wheel, tortoise, etc. had to be equal to 7½ square *purushas*.

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[1] R.V. I, 112, 7; II. 41, 5; V. 62. 6; VII. 88. 5; A.V. III, 12; IX. 3 (which contains prayers for the stability of a house at the time of its construction).

[2] Chaturasra—śyena-chit (falcon-shaped composed square shaped bricks), Kaṅka-chit (heron-shaped), Alaja-chit (some without additional wings), Baṅga-chit (equilateral triangle).

Ubhayataḥ-Prauga-chit (two such triangles joined at their bases).

Ratha-chakra-chit (wheel-shaped, with or without sixteen spokes).

Droṇa-chit (square or circular).

Parichayya-chit (circular outline, composed of bricks arranged in six concentric circles), *samuhya-chit* (circular in shape), Kūrma-chit (tortoise-shaped).

Most of the sciences (*Śāstra* or *Vidyā*) have arisen in India in close connection with religion. The particular of Vedic altars will clearly indicate the formulation of rules for construction. As no earlier reference to such rules is traceable we shall be justified to point to the origin of the *Vāstu-Śāstra* (Science of house-building or architecture) from this point at any rate. The science of architecture must have been in existence when the Buddha carefully distinguishes *Vatthu-kamma* (Building work) from *Vatthu-vijjā* (science of building)[1]. Buddhaghosha defines the former as construction of dwellings etc., while the latter consists in an analysis of the characteristic features and the merits and defects of the dwellings, rest-houses, and other structures.[1] This distinction between the art and the science of architecture has been recognized throughout the vast range of Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit literature. In the language of a very late text, the *Śukra-nīti*, 'the construction of tanks, canals, palaces and squares etc. is an art (*kalā*), while *Vāstu-vidyā* or *Śilpa-śāstra* is a literary treatise which deals with 'rules of construction of palaces, images, parks, houses, canals and other good works.[2] The traditional list of sixty-four arts, which can be traced to at least three groups of literature other than the Śilpa-śāstras themselves, refers more to the science (*Vidyā*) rather than the art (*Karman*). The mythological group, comprising the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the *Hari-vaṁśa*, and the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* mentions the arts in connexion with the various kinds of knowledge (*Vidyā*) acquired by Kṛishṇa and Balarāma. The Buddhist-Jain group, represented by *Lalita-vistara* and *Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra*, refers to the arts in connection with the training of their respective heroes, Bodhi-sattva and Mahāvīra. In the erotic group represented by the *Kāma-sūtra* of *Vātsyāyana* and other *Kāma-śāstras*, which incidentally form one of the three main objects of life (*Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kāma*) and recognized early in Vedic literature[3] the arts (*Kalā*) are specified in connexion with the accomplishments to be acquired by men and women both for the sake of culture and practice.[4] Descriptions of various architectural objects in the non-architectural texts of numerous variety and of different periods must also refer more to the science than to the art as they lack in the technique and constructional details of those objects. Thus in the earlier great

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1 Dīgha-nikāya, I, pp. 9 and 12. Buddhaghosha says:
'Vatthuvijjati gharavatthu-ārāma-vatthadinam gunadosa-sallakkhana-vijjā.' Vatthukammanti akatavatthumhi geha-patitthaparana.

2 Śukranīti, IV—3, 115-116; IV. 3, 169.

3 *Hiraṇya-Kesi Gṛhya-sūtra*, ii, 19, 6.

4 For details, *vide*, the writer's 'Introduction' to his '*Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad*'.

epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[1] the city of Ayodhyā is described: 'The temples in this city were as resplendent as the sky. Its assembly halls, gardens, and water-sheds were most elegant; and everywhere were arranged extensive buildings crowded with men and women . . . . The houses were as mines of gems, and the abodes of the goddess of fortune. The steeples of the houses were as resplendent as the crests of mountains and bore hundreds of pavilions like the celestial palace of the chief among the Devas. The rooms were full of riches and corn; and they were so arranged that men could pass from one room to another without perceiving any inequality in the floor'.

The *Mahābhārata* contains non-architectural accounts of the cities of Dvārakā (III. 15), Indraprastha (I. 207, 30 ft.), Mithilā (III. 207, 7 ft.) and others. Maya is stated in the *Sabhāparvan*, (Chap. 1) to have built an assembly hall for the Pāṇḍavas wherein all human and divine desires are depicted in bricks and mortar. Similarly are described the assembly halls of Indra (Chap. VII), of Yama (Chap. VIII), of Varuṇa (Chap. IX), of Kubera (Chap. X) and of Brahmā (Chap. XI). The lodgings assigned to the royal guests to the *Rājasūya* feast are stated to have been 'replete with refreshments of every kind, and having by them charming lakes and ranges of ornamental plants. Those houses were lofty as the peaks of the Kailāsa mountain, most charming in appearance and provided with excellent furniture. They were surrounded on all sides by well-built high walls of white colour. The windows were protected by golden lattices and decorated with a profusion of jewellery. The stairs were easy of ascent; the rooms were furnished with commodious seats and clothing, and garlands, and the whole was redolent with the perfume of the finest agallochum. The houses were white as the goose, bright as the moon, and looked most picturesque even from a distance of four miles. They were free from obstructions, provided with doors of uniform height but of various quality, and inlaid with numerous metal ornaments'.[2] Throughout the Sanskrit literature copious references to architectural objects are evident. All such descriptions, like those in the epics, lack in constructional details. In the *Śiśupāla-vadha*[3] for instance, the sea-side city of Dvārakā, and the assembly halls and palaces of Yudhishṭhira and Kṛishṇa are described at length. In the *Vikramorvaśī*[4] of Kālidāsa mention is made of a flight of stairs made like the waves of the Ganges. In the *Meghadūta*[5] of the same author a market place of

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[1] *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 5, 10–15, cf. VI. 3.
[2] *Mahābhārata*, As. Soc., Ed. I, p. 354.
[3] III. 33–64; XIII. 51–63; II. 4-5; III. 241; 17–23, 27-28.
[4] Act. III.
[5] I. 33-34; II. 1–22.

Viśālā and the city of Alakā are elaborately described. In the *Uttara-rāma-charita* [1] of Bhavabhūti mention is made of Nala as the engineer who built the bridge connecting India with Ceylon. In the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* of Śūdraka there is given an interesting account of the gateways and as many as eight courtyards in which the compound of Vasantasenā's palace was divided.[2] The treatises on astronomy and astrology refer to the various architectural objects in connection with auspicious moments and other matters. The *Laghu-śilpa-jyotiḥ-sāra* (3–5) mentions as many as twenty-one matters of calculation. The *Sūrya-siddhānta* (III. 1–4), the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* (VII. 36–49), and the *Līlāvatī* (II. II, vii) describe the gnomons which were used to ascertain the cardinal points for the purpose of orientation of dwelling and other houses. The *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira deals more elaborately with the subjects of architecture presumably on the basis of some architectural text. It refers to (Chap. LVI. 1–28) the suitable ground and building sites, general plan, the situation and dimentions of doors and other members, and the classification of temples into twenty types.

The *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata (Chap. II, 7–25) describes in great detail the stage proper and the auditorium which must have been borrowed from some architectural text. The *Saṅgīta-makaranda* of Nārada (V. 2–9) refers to the same subjects, while the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* (VII. 1351–1361) describes only the auditorium.

The *Harsha-charita*, which is a biography of the King Harshavardhana of Kanouj, describes the palaces and other stately buildings together with their storeys, floors, columns, walls and their furniture. Pavilions, council balls, inns, water-shed and sacrificial rooms are also described.[3] The other historical work in Sanskrit, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, dealing with the history of Kashmir refers frequently to architectural objects like castles (VIII. 1666), monumental buildings (I. 103, 170; III. 380-381; IV. 200–204) and monasteries (I. 93–200, III. 9, 11, 13, 14; IV. 79, etc.) and some other shrines.[4]

The lexicons like the *Nirukta* of Yāska refers to several words implying masonary houses, while the *Amarakosha* has devoted a whole section (Chap. II, ii) on the elucidation of towns and houses. Even the works on grammar like that of Pāṇini frequently deal with the derivations of several architectural terms as edifices (*aṭṭālikā*),

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[1] Act III. 45. [2] Act IV.

[3] *See* the writer's '*Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad*' for further details and reference to Chapter and verse, p. 93.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 93-94.

pillars (*stambha*), brick (*ishṭaka*), and architect and sculptor (*sthapati*, *bhāskara*) etc.[1]

In the period of the canonical works of the Buddhists a more general classification of the then architectural objects became necessary. Thus in the *Vinaya* text the Buddha says in the course of a religious discourse ' I allow you, O Bhikhus, abodes of five kinds—Vihāra, Ardhayoga, Harmya, Prāsāda, and Guhā. I allow you, O Bhikhus, covered terraces, inner verandahs, and overhanging caves '.[2] Buddhaghosha has written an extensive commentary but has not supplied a single constructional detail.[3]

The objects of Jain architecture may similarly be classified as of the north and of the south. 'The first peculiarity that strikes one as distinguishing architecture of the south from that of the north, is the division of the southern temples into two classes, *Bastis* and *Bettas*. The former are temples in the usual acceptance of the word, as understood in the north, and as there, always containing an image of one of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, which is the object there worshipped. The latter are unknown in the north, and are courtyards usually on a hill or rising ground, open to the sky and containing images, not of a Tīrthaṅkara, but of a Gomata or Gomateśvara so called, though he is not known to the Jains in the north.'[4]

The *Purāṇas* and the *Āgamas* refer much more extensively to the various classification and generalization of architectural matters. But they also lack in constructional details. Thus the *Agni-purāṇa* (Chap. 104, vv. 11, 21) refers to forty-five kinds of temples, each bearing a name, grouped under five classes of exactly nine varieties, each bearing a distinct epithet—*Vairāja* (quadrangular), *Pushpaka* (rectangular), *Kailāsa* (round), *Maṇika* (Oval), and *Trivistapa* (octagonal). The *Garuḍa-purāṇa* (Chap. XLII) repeats the same classification and epithets. The *Matsya-purāṇa* (Chap. 269) describes twenty types of temples each bearing a separate name. This list is repeated in the *Bhavishya-purāṇa* (Bk. I, Chap. CXXX) and the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira (Chap. LVI, 1–9) under the same titles and other particulars.[5]

In the *Āgamas* the references to architectural matters are still more extensive and approach more technical points. Thus the

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1 For *Purāṇas and Āgamas*, *see* later.

2 *Mahāvagga*, I. 30, 4, *Chullavagga*, VI. 1, 2; VI. III. 5.

3 For detail, *see* the writer's *Indian Architecture*, 1927.

4 For further detail, *see* the writer's '*Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad*', p. 77.

5 For further details, *see* the writer's '*Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad*', pp. 189–194, 80–84.

Kāmikagāma (Paṭala LV) and the *Suprabhedāgama* (Paṭala XXXI) refer to the styles of all architectural objects exactly like the standard *Vāstuśāstra Mānasāra*, as *Nāgara*, *Vesara* and *Drāviḍa*. Both these *Āgamas* have further referred to the more technical classification known as the *Jāti*, *Chhanda*, and *Vikalpa*; the *Saṁcita*, *Apasaṁcita*, and *Upasaṁcita*; the *Śuddha*, *Miśra*, and *Saṁkīrṇa*; and the Masculine, Feminine, and Neuter. Like the *Purāṅas* the *Kāmikāgama* describes the temples under twenty types bearing separate names, while the *Suprabhedāgama* describes under ten types.[1]

The broad generalizations of the *Purāṇas* and the semi-technical classifications of the *Āgamas* must have been based upon avowedly architectural authorities. Some of these treatises have acknowledged the sources drawn upon, Varāhamihira, the author of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, claims that the science of architecture has come down to him through several generation of sages from Brahmā. Some of these unspecified sages are incidentally mentioned. All matters relating to architecture are stated to have been taken from Garga and small portions of the architectural treatises of Manu and *others* have been put in from memory (Chap. LVIII. 30-31). Among the *others* Vasishṭha, Maya, Viśvakarman, Bhāskara, and Nagnajit are incidentally quoted (Chap. LVIII. 8; LVII. 8, 29; LVIII. 52, 15, 4).

The *Matsya-purāṇa* (Chap. 255, 2–4) contains a list of eighteen professors of architecture: Bhṛgu, Atri, Vasishṭha, Viśvakarman, Maya, Nārada, Nagnajit, Viśālāksha, Purandara (Indra), Brahman, Kumāra, Nandīśa (Śiva), Śaunaka, Garga, Vāsudeva, Aniruddha, Śukra, and Bṛhaspati. Of these professors Garga, Maya, Viśvakarman, Vasishṭha and Nagnajit have also been mentioned in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. But the *Matsya-purāṇa* does not include in its list Bhāskara and Manu who are mentioned in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*.

In the *Mānasāra-Vāstuśāstra* there is a list of thirty-two authorities in addition to the divine sources. It claims (Chap. 1–4) that the science of architecture has come down to its author from Śiva, Brahmā and Vishṇu, through Indra, Bṛhaspati, Nārada and all other sages who are not specified. In a genealogy of the earthly artists it is further stated that from the four faces of Brahmā came the four divine architects, namely, Viśvakarman, Maya, Tvashṭar and Manu. Their four sons, called respectively, Sthapati (chief architect), Sūtragrāhin (designer), Vardhaki (painter), and Takshaka (carpenter) obviously represent the guild of the modern architects (Chaps. LXVIII, I, II). The list of thirty-two authorities includes Viśvakarman, Viśveśa, Viśvasāra, Prabodhaka, Vṛta, Maya,

[1] For further details, *see ibid.*, pp. 194–196, 85–92.

Tvashṭar, Manu, Nala, Mānavid, Mānakalpa, Mānasāra, Mānabodha, Prashṭar, Viśva-bodha, Naya, Ādisāra, Viśāla, Viśva-kāśyapa, Vāstubodha, Mahātantra, Vāstu-vidyāpati, Parāśarīyaka, Kāla-yūpa, Chaitya, Chitraka, Avarya, Sādhaka-sāra-saṁhitā, Bhānu, Indra, Lokajña, and Saura. It is clear that Viśva-karman, Maya, Manu and Tvashṭar, and Indra are mentioned twice, once to represent the divine architects and again as modern architects.

Viśvakarman and Maya, to whom many extant architectural treatises are ascribed, are common in *Mānasāra*, the *Matsya-purāṇa*, and the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. The *Mānasāra* and the *Matsya-purāṇa*, have, therefore, in common five authorities, namely Bṛhaspati, Indra (Purandara in the *Purāṇa*), Viśālāksha (*alias* Viśāla in the *Mānasāra* and the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*) have in common Viśvakarman, Maya and Manu. Of these authorities, it should be noted, some are the titles of treatises and the others are the names of authors whose works are not specified. Thus some later writers have mis-appropriated these names as well as the names of other sages and have ascribed to them their own compositions in order to make them more authentic. Those treatises include, in an alphabetical order, the *Ādisāra, Mānobodha, Mānakalpa, Mānasāra, Mānavid Mahātantra, Parāśarīyaka, Prabodhaka, Sādhakasāra-saṁhitā, Vāstu-bodha, Viśva (=Śilpa)-bodha* and *Viśva (= Śilpa)-sāra*.

Of the sages, rather professor of architecture as significantly designated in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, neither the treatise nor the name of Aniruddha is traceable, although this name occurs in the epics and elsewhere [1]. Atri is a very well known sage (Rv. V. 39, 5, 67. 5; Kaushi. Brāhm. XIV. 3; Ait. Āraṇyaka ii. 2, 1), Brahmā's mind-born son, and one of the seven great Ṛshis. Formulation of some architectural laws may easily be ascribed to him. Avarya is not known, but must have been the writer of some treatise as stated in the *Mānasāra*. Bhānu is stated (Mbh. III. 220, 221, 14183 etc.) to be a son of the famous seer *Aṅgiras*. This is obviously translated into Bhāskara by Varāhamihira in whose *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (LVIII. 52) he is recognized as an authority on architecture.

Bhṛgu is another mind-born son of Brahmā and one of the seven great Ṛshis (Śat. Brā. xi. 6, 1, 6; Pañchaviṁśa Brā. xviii, 92; Tait. Ār. ix. 1; Nirukta). He continued his popularity in the epics (Mbh. I. 5, 869, 938, etc.) and is recognized as the son of a poet (Chyavana, Kavi, xiii. 85, 4150, etc.). Chaitya as the name of an ordinary sage is not met with in literature. But as a derivative name it may imply an architect who specialized in *Chitā* or *Śmaśāna*

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[1] For fuller details, *see* the writer's *Indian Architecture* (89–91) and the *Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad* (page 159).

implying funerary buildings or cemeteries which are described with particulars in Vedic literature (Śat. Brāhm. XIII). These were built of properly dressed stones of various kinds and comprised reliquaries, monumental pillars and memorial buildings, which are the prototypes of Buddhist *stūpas*, dedicatory buildings, and monolithic pillar. Chitraka similarly may be an abbreviation of Chitra Gārgyāyaṇi who is recognized (in the Kaushitakī Upanishad) as a philosopher and is reputed as the architect who designed the ideal city of Brahman, that is, the present world.

Garga is a well known sage. The authorship of certain hymn is ascribed to him (R.V. vi. 47 *Anukramaṇī*). He is recognized in the *Śrauta Sūtras* of Āśvalāyana (x. 2), Sāṅkhyāyana (xvi. 222) and Kātyāyana (xxiii. 2, 8). He is also stated to have been an astrologer of great repute (Mbh. XII. 54, 2232*m* IX. 37, 2132; 52, 2981). Thus his authority as an architect also may be accepted, even in the absence of his architectural treatises because in the famous Gārgya-Saṁhitā there are matters referring to architecture. Indra under the epithet Purandara has been recognized in the *Matsya-purāṇa* (Chap. 255. 2–4) as one of the authorities. Lokajña, knower of people and their architectural needs, is not met with in literature but might have been once a popular architect whose treatise is, however, untraceable. Kālayūpa appears to have been an architect who specialized in *Yūpa* or Sacrificial post which is an object of architecture.

Manu is a familiar name throughout Sanskrit literature both Vedic and post-Vedic (Rv. i. 80, 16; ii. 33, 13; viii. 63, 1; x. 100, 5; Av. xiv. 2, 41; Taitt. Sam. 1. 5, 3; ii. 5, 9, 1; 6, 7, 1; iii. 3, 2, 1; v. 4, 10, 5; vi. 6, 6, 1; Kath. Sam. viii. 15; Śat. Brā. i. 1, 4, 14; Jaim. Up. Brā. iii. 15, 2; Mbh. 1, 1, 52; XIII. 18, 1315; 1339 etc.). He is the Adam of Indian mythology. Fourteen Manus ruled over the world. Many *Sūtras* and *Dharma-śāstras* wherein incidentally several architectural matters are also referred to are ascribed to him. Thus he may be accepted as an early authority on architecture also. In the *Mānasāra-Vāstuśāstra* he is accepted as one of the four architects born out of the faces of Brahmā and his earthly descendant is the Takshaka or carpenter without whose assistance no architectural object can be completed.

Maya is one of the two most important authorities on architecture, the other being Viśva-karman. The latter was the architects of the gods, while Maya was the architect of the Asuras and was connected with Rāvaṇa, the Asura King of Laṅkā, as the father of the chief queen Mandodarī. He is also reputed as the originator of the magical art called *Asura-vidyā* (Śat. Brā. xiii. 43, cf. Vāj. Sam. XXII. 19). He was recognized as an ancient ruler

of earth (Mbh. XII. 2279, 8261). This is sufficiently corroborated by the discovery of the remains of Maya architecture in Central America. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Kish. Kāṇḍa, L. 8, LI) he is stated to have derived his knowledge of arts through the grace of Brahmā from Śukrāchārya under whose name there is a late text on political science wherein also some important matters of architecture are described with some technical details. In the standard *Vāstuśāstra* also he is stated to have been originated from one of the faces of Brahmā and is represented on earth by the Sūtragrāhin or engineer. His artistic instinct is stated to have developed to a habit and he had once to design an artistic palace in order to beguile the tedium of his wife Homa. His reputation continued to the next epic period represented by the *Mahābhārata* where he is stated to have built three cities for the Asuras (Mbh. VIII. 33, 1406, 1407) and a wonderful palace demonstrating all heavenly and earthly ideas for the King Yudhishṭhira (Mbh. II, 50, 1809. No wonder, therefore, that his skill migrated to the antipode also.

Competent authorities have admitted that the Maya Civilization of Central America spread from India. The discoveries of Dr. Gann and Professor Morley of the Carnegie Institute are now well known. The Maya manuscript book of Chilan Balam of Chumayel records the migration of the Maya clans. The British Museum Guide to the Maudsley Collection of Maya Sculptors would further corroborate that Maya as a person or a clan was an authority on ancient architecture.

It is understandable, therefore, how and why several late texts have been ascribed to his distinguished name. One of these manuscripts bearing the title *Maya-mata-Śilpaśāstra* (Madras Catalogue Nos. 13038, also 13034–13039) has disclosed the forgery and states clearly that one Gannamāchārya has compiled it, obviously from the *Mānasāra-Vāstuśāstra*.[1]

Nala must have been an authority on architecture because in the period of the *Rāmāyaṇa* his reputation continued and his services were requisitioned by Rāma to build a bridge (Setubandha) connecting India and Laṅkā. Nārada is a more familiar name in Sanskrit literature. He is a sage (Av. V. 19, 9; xii 4, 16; 24, 41; Ait. Brā. vii. 13, vii. 34, viii, 21; Sānk. Śr. Sūtra xv. 17, Maitra. Sam. I. 58) and a pupil of Bṛhaspati whose architectural treatise Varāhamihira consulted in compiling the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. He is also coupled with Sanatkumāra (Chhānd. Up. vii. 1, 1) under whose name a *Vāstu-śāstra* still exists in manuscript. Naya is not misread for

[1] For fuller details, *see* the writer's *Indian Architecture* (89–91) and the *Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad* (page 159).

Maya, it being one of a thousand epithets of Vishṇu. But no more information is available about him. Prashṭar like Tvashṭar, must have been an authority on architecture but his work or name is no longer traceable. Saura may be an abbreviated form of Sauryāyaṇi Gārgya who is mentioned (Praś. Up. i. 11; iv. 1) as a sage contemporary to Pippalāda, Kātyāyana and others. Garga as an authority has been already treated and his descendant, Sauryāyaṇi or simply Saura, must have inherited the *Vidyā* and assisted the growth of the standard work on architecture. Tvashṭar is the third heavenly architect who claims descent from Brahmā and who is represented on earth by Vardhaki or painter (Chitra-karman). He is frequently referred to in the Vedic hymns (1. 14. 10; 20, 6; 2, 9, etc.) as the artificer of gods and designer of forms (Viśvarūpa). He is the ideal artist, the most skilful workman, versed in all wonderful contrivances, the Hephaistos or Vulcan of the Indian pantheon. Thus his authority on architecture was naturally utilized. Vardhaki is stated to be the son of Tvashṭar in the *Mānasāra-Vāstuśāstra.* He is clearly recognized as an expert in painting (Chitra-karman).

Viśāla is apparently an abbreviated form for Viśālāksha of the *Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra* and the *Mahābhārata* (1, 67, 2736, 45, 49; IV. 32, 1054; V. 101, 3594; VI. 88, 3901, 3904). In the *Bṛhaspati-Sūtra* (ed. Thomas, p. 132) he is an esteemed authority both on royal polity and arts.

Vṛta as a sage is not met with in literature. His treatise on architecture also is not mentioned anywhere else except in the *Mānasāra-Vāstuśāstra.*

There are three other names of sages commencing with Viśva which term technically means 'art', specially architecture. Of these three sages no treatise of Viśveśa is traceable. But there are several later treatises bearing the title Kāśyapa and thus his name as Viśva-Kāśyapa may be easily accepted as an authority on architecture. In the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upanishad* (VI. 5, 3) he is more significantly named Śilpa-Kāśyapa and included in a list of professors. His name is linked up with Agastya, and Agastya and Kaśyapa are associated with the art history of South India.

Viśvakarmā, as already stated, is the traditional architect of the gods and originator of all arts. In the Vedic hymns (R.V., X 81, 82) he is described as the father and generator of all beings, the creator of all things, and the divine architect of the world. The Prabhu of the *Chhāndogya-upanishad* (viii. 5, 3) and the Vibhu of the *Kaushitakī-upanishad* (i. 3) may perhaps be regarded as the connecting link between the Vedic Viśvakarma and the Viśvakarma of the later literature. In the Vāstu-śāstra ascribed to a well-known sagely authority, Sanatkumāra, there is a passage wherein

Viśvakarmā is recognized as an expert in the science of architecture (*Vāstu-vidyā-viśārada*). All Indian traditions seem to agree in pointing to Viśvakarmā as the first land-mark in the history of arts, especially, architecture, and scrupulously distinguishing him from Maya, the best known authority on arts among the Asuras or Dānavas.

Some of these names as shown above are those of sages who are well known in the Vedic hymns and the later literature. Some *Śāstras* other than the *Śilpa-śāstras* have been also ascribed to them. Thus they have already been recognized as makers or compilers of *Śāstras*. Therefore, even in the absence of such architectural treatises as can be definitely ascribed to them, those sages can be accepted as bonafide authors of architecture, all the more because they have been recognized as authorities on the basis of which the standard work like the *Mānasāra-vāstu-śāstra* has developed. Like the nineteen pregrammarians of Pāṇini, whose works are not traceable, the thirty-two authorities must have helped the growth of the standard architecture in Sanskrit. This finding is further corroborated by two other considerations. First, some of these thirty-two authorities obviously bear the titles of texts rather than those of authors. Secondly, the *Mānasāra* (lit. essence of measurement which is the very life in the construction of an architectural object) is included in the list of thirty-two authorities upon which the *Mānasāra-Vāstuśāstra* itself is stated to have been based. This word normally suggests that there was a smaller rather than a wider treatise bearing the same title out of which the present comprehensive standard work has developed both as a science for general guidance and as a practical hand book to assist professional artists and private builders. This landmark in the history of architecture in ancient India in whichever period it may be finally fixed would be naturally looked up for consultation by the compilers like those of the *Purāṇas*, *Āgamas*, historical works, poetic works, lexicons, etc., where some of the numerous architectural subjects have been incorporated for special and individual needs. Thus the *Mānasāra-Vāstuśāstra* has been quoted, summarized, or taken in modified forms by most of the architectural treatises which came into being afterwards. On the other hand, as indicated above, the standard work itself must have been based upon the preceding authorities. It has no doubt its own originality and contributions. The personal observation of the then existing examples and the experience of the contemporary builders are clearly indicated in the testing of soil and selection of sites by various examinations, as well as by actual alternative measurements suggested for various objects. The results of those

observations and experiments have been generalized and rules deduced for general guidance. Thus the *Mānasāra-Vāstuśāstra* serves the double functions of a hand book for ordinary builders and engineers as well as a guide book for the study of the science of architecture.

There is no unreality about the authorities quoted above. In view of the archæological remains of some 3000 B.C. at Mohenjo-Daro and other sites and in consideration of the cultural achievements in various fields during the Vedic period the earliest preserved text on architecture must exhibit a long prior development. But as it happens in case of Pāṇini's grammar or of the Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, the *Mānasāra-Vāstuśāstra* has made it impossible for the earlier treatises to survive because of its completeness. For nobody would care to consult a fragmentary treatise when a complete one was available to supply all theories and practical guidance. In the same way the *Arthaśāstra* and Paṇini have also deprived their earlier treatises of the possibility of survival. So far as the *Mānasāra-Vāstuśāstra* is concerned no other treatise of its completeness or of its details were ever attempted even after its growth despite its defective language and despite the uncertainty of its authorship. This apathy was certainly due not to any lack of popular interest either in the study or practice of architecture, but obviously to the unsettled political condition of the country. For following the *Mānasāra* works like the *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas* as well as those dealing with astronomy, medicine, dramatic play, etc., have copiously incorporated architectural description, and a large number of fragmentary treatises on architecture, sculpture and painting have also come into being.

TĀYIN, TĀYI, TĀDI

By P. V. Bapat

(1) The word 'tāyi' or 'tāyin' is often used in Buddhist Sanskrit books. Burnouf takes it in the sense of 'protector (trāyin)'. Kern derives it from 'tāyana' which, on the authority of Pāṇini 1, 3, 38, he takes in the sense of 'thriving' or 'mighty'. Childers gives an article on this word in his Dictionary and derives it from tādṛś and thinks that it is more used to indicate the disciples of the Buddha who were thought to be like him, although he recognizes, towards the end of his article, that the word was occasionally used for the 'Buddha'. É. Senart has a note on the word in the Mahāvastu ii. 543, where he clearly indicates that it is an equivalent of the Pali word 'tādi'. Morris in the Journal of the Pali Text Society (1891–93, pp. 53–55) discusses this word, thinks of two distinct forms, tādi and tādī (tādin), and derives it from tād an extension of the root tā (p. 55). Sylvain Lēvi in the Journal Asiatique, vol. xx, p. 243, has a note on this word where apparently he accepts the sense of the word as 'protector'. It is proposed in this article to further examine the word and see if we can find any material which would throw light upon the evolution of the form and meaning of it.

(2) The Mahāvyutpatti, in the first section of 'Tathāgatasya paryāyanāmāni' and in the 96th section on 'Śaraṇa-paryāyāḥ' gives the word trāyī (or *tāyī*) and 'tāyī' respectively. Sakaki's edition of the Mvy. gives the Tibetan and Chinese equivalents of these words (nos. 15, 1746) respectively, as

skyob-pa	སྐྱོབ་པ་,	保 9+7	護 149+14	,	善	護 149+14
skyob-ston	སྐྱོབ་སྟོན་	示 113	護 149+14			

All these Tibetan and Chinese renderings support the interpretation of 'protector' or 'that which affords protection'. It is curious to note that the Tibetan renderings of this word or Pali 'tādi' is the same in Udānavarga iv. 7 (= Pali Udāna, iv. 7), xxxi. 49 (= Dhp. 96), xxxii. 43 (= Udāna iii. 10), although in one place, Udānavarga xix. 3, the Tibetan translator uses a general word thub ཐུབ,

which, though etymologically it means Śākya, is often used in the sense of a muni or a sage.

Nāmasangīti (p. 144, stanza 6) mentions the word in the following:—

Nāthas trātā trilokāptaḥ śaraṇaṃ tāyī niruttaraḥ

This also supports the interpretation of the Mvy.

It is frequently used in earlier Buddhist Sanskrit texts such as Mahāvastu (iii. 397–400), Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (ii. 133, vi. 7, xiv. 10), Suvarṇa-prabhāsa (p. 14, Idzumi's ed.), Abhisamayālankārālokā (verse 27), Śikṣāsamuccaya (260. 10, 300. 5), Bodhicaryāvatāra (iii. 2, v. 9), Abhidharmakośavyākhyā (Wogihara's ed. ii. 394), etc. The word, it appears, had become a common word in Buddhist Sanskrit and though it is very often met with, a definite comment upon it is rare. It is, however, clear that the word in Mahāvastu iii. 397–400 does not admit of the interpretation of 'protector'.

Nāgo tāyi pravuccati tathatvā .. kṣetrajño tāyi pravuccati tathatvā.
Kuśalo tāyi ,, ,, .. paṇḍito tāyi pravuccati tathatvā.
Āryō tāyi ,, ,, .. Caraṇavā tāyi pravuccati tathatvā.

Most of these stanzas correspond to Suttanipāta 520, 522, 524, 526, 530 where the word 'tādi' occurs as equivalent of 'tāyi' here. In other places, it is used as an epithet of the Buddha himself or any holy person like the Arhat or the Bodhisattva. In Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā, a Commentary by Prəjñākaramati on Bodhicaryāvatāra, in two places, we get a comment on the word. While commenting on the word in

Bodhisattvatva-Buddhatvam anumode ca tāyināṃ [1] (iii. 2)

the Commentator says: Tāyinām iti (1) Svādhigatamārgadeśakānāṃ. Yad uktaṃ tāyaḥ svadṛṣṭamārgoktir iti tad vidyate yeṣām iti. Atha vā, (2) tāyaḥ santānārthaḥ; ā-saṃsāramapratiṣṭhita[2]-nirvāṇatayā avasthāyināṃ. "The word is used in the sense of 'those who preach about the Path obtained by themselves'. It has been said that the word 'tāyaḥ' means 'telling (others) the Path seen by oneself'. Those that have it. Or, the word is to be taken in the sense of

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[1] This is, by the by, rendered in Tib. translation as skyob-pa rnams-kyi སྐྱོབ་པ་ རྣམས་ཀྱི་ in so far as we gather from the editor's foot-note in the text.

[2] For this expression, see Mvy. (Sakaki's ed. 406, 1728): apratiṣṭhito nirvāṇe, apratiṣṭhita-nirvāṇaṃ, the former of which is an extolatory epithet of the Tathāgata, and the latter a synonym of nirvāṇa. Also see La Siddhi (L.V.P.), pp. 671ff.

'extension'. That is, those who, as long as worldly life lasts, continue to live without being established into nirvāṇa." Here it is obvious that the sense of 'protector' is absent and the Commentator takes it in the sense of either (1) one who preaches about the Path attained by oneself; or (2) an aspirer who wants to continue to live without entering nirvāṇa. In another place

Jagad daridram adyāpi sā kathaṃ pūrvatāyināṃ (v. 9)

the Commentator simply says: Pūrvatāyināṃ pūrvamabhisambuddhānāṃ Bhagavatāṃ. Here it is clear that the word is definitely used in the sense of the Buddha, abhisambuddha, the Enlightened One. The following line

Śrāvakebhyaḥ sakhaḍgebhyo Bodhisattvasya tāyinaḥ
(Abhisamayālankāralokā, v. 27)

shows that the word is used for a Bodhisattva.

The following lines

Evaṃ Buddhanayaṃ viditva sugatā pūjā kṛtā tāyinaḥ
(Śik. 260. 11),
Paṭṭapradānaṃ datvā tu Lokanāthasya tāyinaḥ (*ibid.*, 300. 5),
Ehī ti c'oktaḥ Sugatena tāyinā
(Abhk. vyākhyā, ii. p. 374. Wogihara's ed.),
Mama kumāra śṛṇohi Lokanāthasya tāyinaḥ
(Suvarṇa. p. 14, ed. of Idzumi),

show that the word was used in the sense of the Buddha, Tathāgata, Sugata. From the Buddhist Texts the word travelled to Gauḍapādīya-kārikā (4. 99), and we meet with it in the following verse:

Kramate na hi Buddhasya jñānaṃ dharmeṣu tāyinaḥ
Sarve dharmās tathā jñānaṃ naitad Buddhena bhāṣitaṃ.

The Commentator, while commenting on this word says:

'tāyo'syāstī ti tāyī; santānavato nirantarasyākāśakalpasye tyarthaḥ; pūjāvato vā prajñāvato vā.'

Here it is worth noting that the Commentator on the Kārikās is in agreement with the Commentator on Bodhicaryāvatāra in that he interprets the word 'tāya' in the sense of 'santāna', 'extension', although the interpretation in its application is different.

(3) In Pali texts, however, we invariably get the word 'tādi' and there also it is used both in the sense of the 'Buddha' or a 'holy disciple like the Arhat'. In M., ii. 105, Angulimāla confesses

Adaṇḍena asatthena ahaṃ danto'mhi tādinā
(= Theragāthā, 878).

In Sn. 957, Sāriputta speaks about his visit to the Buddha thus:

Taṃ Buddhaṃ asitaṃ tādiṃ akuhaṃ gaṇim āgataṃ

The word is equally used to denote a great sage like Kaṇhasiri (or Asita) in Sn. 697:

Tenānusiṭṭho hitamanasena tādinā.

The word seems to have been used in a peculiarly technical sense in Sn. 154, 219, 488, 519, 520, 522, 524–26, 530–532, 697, 712, 803, etc.; Thera-gāthā 68, 441, 491, 878, 905, 1067, 1096 etc.; Dhp. 94–96; D. ii. 157; Miln. p. 382; Jā. iii. 98 etc. In all these places it is used in the sense of one who is not affected in the least by any of the eight lokadharmas—profit or loss, fame or no fame, praise or censure, pleasure or pain. The word is commented upon in Niddesa i. 114–16, where it is interpreted in the sense of an Arhat who is tādi in five ways:

(i) Iṭṭhāniṭṭhe tādi, (ii) cattāvī ti tādi, (iii) tiṇṇāvī ti tādi, (iv) muttāvī tādi, (v) tanniddesā tādi.

Each of these is explained at great length. Most of this comment is repeated in the Commentary upon Sn. 957. The same is referred to in the Commentary on M. ii. 105. Side by side with this technical interpretation, we also find in the Commentaries the interpretation of the word as 'tādisa', in the following:

Tādiṃ Maggajinaṃ vadanti Buddhā (Sn. 86; Cm.: Tādin ti tādisaṃ, yathāvuttappakāraṃ. This is further explained as 'Lokadhammehi nibbikāran ti attho'.

Ārādhaye dakkhiṇeyye hi tādi (Sn. 509; Cm.: Tañ ca so tādiso, tividha-sampattisādhako).

Devā pi tassa pihayanti tādino (Dhp. 94; Cm. explains the word by 'tathārūpassa').

Saṃsārā na bhavanti tādino (Dhp. 95 where the Cm. explains the word by 'evarūpassa').

Upasantassa tādino (Dhp. 96; here also the Cm. explains the word by 'tathārūpassa').

Sokā na bhavanti tādino (Udāna iv. 7; Cm.: tādisassa khīṇāsava-munino).

The word is interpreted in the sense of 'one who has the same mind, equanimity, for all, or in all circumstances', as in the following:

Sabbabhūtesu tādino (Sn. 154; Cm. explains as 'sabbabhūtesu samacittena tādi').

Amamassa ṭhitassa tādino (Udāna iii. 1. Cm. explains: iṭṭhādīsu ekasadisatā-sankhātena tādibhāvena tādi).

In Dhammapāla's commentaries, in several places, both the interpretations are given as alternative interpretations, as in the Comment on the word in Udāna iii. 1, iv. 7; Theragāthā 68. In fact, an attempt is made to show that both these interpretations are really one and the same and are not irreconcilable with each other. Dhammapāla, while commenting on the word 'tādibhāvāvahanato' in Vis. i. p. 5 says:

> 'Yādiso iṭṭhesu lābhādisu anunayābhāvato, tādiso aniṭṭhesu alābhādisu paṭighābhāvato. Tato eva vā yādiso anāpāthagatesu iṭṭhāniṭṭhesu, tādiso āpāthagatesu pī ti tādi; tassa bhāvo tādibhāvo; tassa āvahanato.' 'He is the same in unfavourable circumstances as he is in favourable circumstances.'

So it may be said that one of these interpretations can be easily derived from the other. Tādi = tādisa, like that, alike, the same, just the same in all circumstances, favourable or unfavourable, one who is unperturbed, one who knows no quaking, etc.:

> Indakhīlūpamo tādi subbato (Dhp. 95, where the Cm. says: 'aṭṭhahi lokadhammehi akampiyabhāvena tādi'. 'Unshakable in all the eight worldly conditions').

Suttanipāta 712:

> Alatthaṃ yadidaṃ sādhu nālatthaṃ kusalām iti
> Ubhayeneva so tādi rukkhaṃ va upanivattati

is very clear about this interpretation. 'He is alike in both the circumstances—whether he gets food or whether he does not get food.' The corresponding stanza in Mahāvastu iii. 388, 4-5:

> Adāsi iti sādhu nādāsi bhadraṃ astu te
> Ubhayenaiva *sadṛśo* rukṣatvaṃ vinivartaye

gives 'sadṛśo' as an equivalent of tādi.

Mahāvastu ii. 256, gives a passage

> 'Varaṃ evaṃrūpāṇāṃ eva satpuruṣāṇāṃ pādapāṃsu rajo, na sauvarṇo parvato'

where É. Senart in his note on the word 'evaṃrūpāṇāṃ' remarks that the word is an equivalent of Pali 'tādināṃ'.

Another interesting thing, it is worth noting, is that as in other Buddhist Sanskrit texts, Mahāvastu also does use in most places (iii. 397–400) the word 'tāyi' for the Pali 'tādi', but there is one instance where the Pali form is retained:

> Śramaṇo *tādi* pravuccati tathattvā (Mahāvastu, iii. 397. 2)

exactly agrees with Pali:

Samaṇo tādi pavuccati tathattā [1] (Sn. 520).

This leaves it beyond doubt that the word 'tāyi' was used as a substitute for the Pali 'tādi' and therefore at the beginning had the same sense as the Pali form, although, later on, an altogether different sense came to be attached to it.

(4) As a further proof of this, I have noted a stanza in the Sanskrit Udānavarga in the Pelliot collection of the documents of Central Asia (See N. P. Chakravarti, L'Udānavarga Sanskrit, pp. 242-43). In stanza 3 of the Aśvavarga which corresponds, line by line, to Dhp. 94, the last line reads:

Devā pi tasya spṛhayanti tādṛnaḥ

and exactly agrees with Pali:

Devā pi tassa pihayanti tādino (Dhp. 94).

In the first staza of the same varga, the last line as given in Sanskrit Udānavarga reads:

Prahāsate sarvabhavāni tādṛśāḥ.

In another version of this last line, we find

Tāyī sa sarvaṃ prajahāti dukkhaṃ (Chakravarti, p. 240).

Thus even in Sanskrit we meet with the form 'tādṛnaḥ' which is closer to the Pali form 'tādino'. Another instance of the correspondence of 'tāyino' with 'tādino' is noted by Sylvain Lēvi in his article on the 'Apramādavarga' in Journal Asiatique, vol. xx (1912), pp. 242-43. The 7th stanza of the varga reads thus:

Adhicetasi mā pramadyataḥ pratataṃ maunapadeṣu śikṣataḥ
Śokā na bhavanti *tāyino* hyupaśāntasya sadā smṛtātmanaḥ.

This exactly corresponds to Udāna iv. 7 = Theragāthā 68

Adhicetaso appamajjato munino monapathesu sikkhato
sokā na bhavanti *tādino* upasantassa sadā satīmato.

It is interesting to note that in all these places—noted in this paragraph—where the word tāyi occurs, the Tibetan rendering is skyob-pa སྐྱོབ་པ་ while in the place of the unusual form 'tādṛnaḥ' the Tibetan rendering is made by a general word like thub......rnams ཐུབ....རྣམས་. So it appears that at the time of the Tibetan translations, the word 'tāyī' had definitely come to be interpreted in

[1] See my Devanāgarī edition of the Suttanipāta, p. 75.

the sense of 'protector'. When the translators came across a different form of the word, they chose to select another word which would give the sense in general. That they did not identify the word with 'tādisa' is also clear from Udānavarga, xxviii. 7, where for the word 'tādisa' in Dhp. 76 (with which this stanza agrees), the Tibetan translators use an altogether different word, de-lta དེ་ལྟ་.

(5) That the interpretation of the word 'tāyi' as a 'protector' was a much later one is also proved by another testimony—that of the early Chinese translations of Tripiṭaka. They simply show that the word was understood, in general, as an equivalent of 'one who knows no sorrow', 'one who has no superior', 'a truthful man', 'a holy man' in general, or an epithet of the Buddha or Bodhisattva. For the second line from the Apramādavarga quoted above, the Chinese rendering is

終	無	愁	憂	苦
120+5	86+8	61+9	61+11	140+5

(JA. xx, p. 243).

which shows that the word was simply rendered by 'one without sorrow'.

For Sn. 803,

Pāraṃ gato na pacceti tādi,

the Chinese rendering is (Taisho ed., iv. 178 c. 13):

度	無	極	衆 [眾]	不	還
53+6	86+8	75+9	109+6	1+3	162+13

Here it is simply interpreted as 'one who has no superior'.

For

Taṃ Buddhaṃ asitam tādiṃ

in Sn. 957, the Chinese Text (Taisho ed., iv. 186 b. 18-19) simply says:

無	憂	覺
86+8	61+11	147+12

which means 'the Enlightened One, having no sorrow'.

For

Devā pi tassa pihayanti tādino (Dhp. 94)

the oldest Chinese version of the third century A.D. (No. 210, Taisho ed., p. 564 b. 8) simply says

爲	天	所	敬
87+8	37+1	63+4	66+9

'honoured by gods'. There is no word giving the rendering of 'tādino'.

For

Indakhīlūpamo tādi subbato
Rahado'va apeta-kaddamo (Dhp. 95)

the Chinese translation gives (*ibid.*, 564 b. 9):

不	動	如	山	眞	人	無	垢
1+3	19+9	38+3	46	109+5	9	86+8	32+6

which means 'does not shake like a mountain. He is a truthful man, without any impurity'. For 'Upasantassa tādino' (Dhp. 96) the Chinese version gives a rendering (*ibid.*, 564 b. 11) in which I fail to see any equivalent of 'tādino'. In none of these examples we get the interpretation as 'protector', although it is true that in some cases no attempt is made to give any rendering at all of the word. It is the peculiarity of Chinese translations that, as against Tibetan translations which are mostly literal, they aim more at the conveying of the sense of the original than at the exact rendering of the words in it.

(6) Now the question arises 'how did this change-over from tādi to tāyi take place?' Here the Jain Prakrit texts come to our help. We constantly meet with the word 'tāyi' or 'tāi' in Jain Prakrit texts and it is used in almost the same sense as Pali 'tādi'. It is used with reference to Mahāvīra himself as well as with reference to 'one who is as holy as the Great Teacher', a 'Monk'.

Nāyaputteṇa tāyiṇā (Daśavaikālika-Sūtra, 6. 21)

shows that it is used for the Great Teacher, Mahāvīra.

Uvaṇīyatarassa tāiṇo bhayamāṇassa vivikkamāsaṇaṃ
(Sūyagaḍanga, 1. 2. 2. 17)

corresponds to Pali

Patilīnacarassa *bhikkhuno*[1] bhajamānassa vivittamāsanaṃ
(Sn. 810).

Here the word is obviously used in the sense of a holy monk. It is found also in Sūya. 2. 6. 24; Uttarādhyayana 8. 4, 11. 31, 21. 22; Daśavaikālika 3. 15, etc. Here also the later Commentators interpret the word in the sense of 'protector'.

Trātā, svaparitrāṇsamarthena (Cm. on Daśa. 6. 21)
Trāyate, rakṣaty ātmānam durgateḥ (Cm. on Uttar. 8. 4).

[1] See my Devanāgarī edition of the Suttanipāta, p. 123.

The word is used in the very first stanza of Hemachandra's Yogaśāstra

Namo....................
Arhate Yogināthāya Mahāvīrāya tāyine

and the Comment explains the word thus:

Tāyī—Sakalasurāsura-manuja-tiraścāṃ pālakaḥ

It is also explained in Commentaries as equivalent of 'tyāgin' (cf. 2nd interpretation from Niddesa given above in para. 3—Cattāvī ti tādi), 'tāpin', as well as 'tāyin' or 'trāyin' (see Pāiasadda-mahaṇṇava, p. 532). One interpretation given in the Abhidhāna-rājendrakośa deserves special notice:

'Tāpaḥ svadṛṣṭamārgoktiḥ; tadvān tāpī'
(Cm. on Dvātriṃ-śatikā, 27. 20)

Another pothī[1] of the Dvātriṃśikā, composed by Yaśovijayaji of the 17th century, reads:

'Tāyaḥ sudṛṣṭamārgoktiḥ; tadvān tāyī.'

This interpretation given by a Jain author of the 17th century shows that even Jain tradition had accepted an interpretation which, as we have noted above (para. 2) is given in the Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā as one of the two alternative interpretations. It is obvious that the word was used in both the Jain and Buddhist communities and that it was understood in both the traditions in the same or almost the same sense. If the word changed its sense for one tradition, it was accepted by another tradition also in its new sense.

It is perhaps due to the Jain influence that the word in its Prakrit form came to be used and known even in Buddhist circles and that is perhaps the reason why the form 'tāyī' came to be used by the Buddhist Sanskrit writers. We have already given above (para. 4) a few remnants, in the transitional stage, of the Pali form 'tādi' in 'tādṛnaḥ, tādṛśāḥ' used in Sanskrit Udānavarga. In one place (para. 3) the word 'tādi' itself is retained in the Sanskrit text (Mahāvastu iii. 397. 2).

When once the word 'tāyī' came to be established in the current use of Buddhist or Jain writers, the later commentators, both Buddhist or Jain, forgetting the original history of the word began to exercise their brains for finding out its etymology. They began to connect it with the root 'tāya' (i) to extend; or (ii) to protect (Dhātupāṭha—tāyṛ—santāna-pālanayoḥ). Hence the interpretations given in Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, Mahāvyutapatti, Jain

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[1] I have to thank my friend Motilal Ladhaji for making this text available to me for reference.

Commentaries as well as Tibetan translations. We have noted above that the Chinese translations, at any rate of the early period, of Aṭṭhakavarga, Dhammapada [1], etc. do not accept this interpretation.

(7) Thus from what has been said above, the evolution of the form and meaning of 'tāyi' may be as shown below:

	Tādṛk or tādṛśa—like that, alike, the same, just the same.	
By dropping the final consonant.	tādṛ (from which we get the form 'tādṛnaḥ' as given in the Udānavarga).	
By early prākritisation.	tādi—in Pali texts.	The Buddha, or any holy man who is unshakable.
As a result of further prakritisation.	tāyi or tāi in Jain Prakrit texts.	Do.
	tāyi (adopted by Buddhist Sanskrit writers, as well as Jain writers).	In the sense of 'protector'.

[1] My colleague Dr. V. V. Gokhale tells me that in Kumārajīva's Chinese translation of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, the terms used for 'tāyin' are varying, such as 大 (37) 神 (113+5) great spirit, 聖 (128+7) 尊 (41+9) the Noble, Honoured One.

HISTORY OF THE KALACHURIS OF SOUTHERN KOSALA

By AMALANANDA GHOSH

Many inscriptions of the Kalachuris of the Kosala branch relate that King Kokalla of the main line had eighteen sons, of whom the first became the lord of Tripurī and made the rest masters of districts (*maṇḍala-pati*).[1] In the family of the youngest of them was born Kaliṅgarāja or Kaliṅganṛipati, who, as a Ratanpur incription states, abandoned his ancestral land, in order not to impoverish the treasury of Tritasaurya and acquired by his two arms the country of Dakshiṇa-Kosala.[2]

There is some doubt about the significance of the word Tritasaurya. It occurs twice in the Ratanpur inscription, first in connexion with Kokalla himself and next in the passage quoted above. Dr. Hiralal took it to be the name of a tribe, identical with the Vedic Tritsus, and thought that the second passage hints at the magnanimity of Kaliṅgarāja revealed by the fact that he left his own king's army with the intention of lessening the burden on the treasury of the enemies (*i.e.* the Tritasauryas).[3] It is extremely unnatural that a prince should have left his native land in order to make the task of the enemies easier. Nor does the slight phonetic similarity between *Tritsu* and *Tritasaurya* afford sufficient ground for the identification. It is better, therefore, to stick to Kielhorn's view that Tritasaurya was the name of the *maṇḍala* whence Kaliṅgarāja emanated and where his forefathers, beginning from the younger son of Kokalla, had been ruling.

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[1] Some of the latest inscriptions of the dynasty, *e.g.* the Amoda plates of Jājalladeva and the Pendrabandh plates of Pratāpamalla have *pārśve* instead of *śeshān*, which would mean that the others were made *maṇḍala-patis* 'in the neighbouring area'.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 32: *Prāpat=teshu Kaliṅga-rājam=asamaṁ vaṁśaḥ kramād=ānujaḥ putraṁ sa(śa)tru-kalatra-netra-salila-sphīta-pratāpa-drumaḥ yen=āyaṁ Trita-saurya-kosa(śa)m=akṛiśīkartuṁ vihāy=ānvaya-kshoṇīṁ Dakshiṇa-Kosalo janapado vā(bā)hu-dvayen=ārjjitaḥ* 'The race of the younger of these (brothers) in course of time obtained an unequalled son, Kaliṅgarāja—the race that was a tree of prowess fed by the water of the eyes of the enemies' wives; who (Kaliṅgarāja), in order not to impoverish the treasury of Tritasaurya, abandoned the ancestral land and acquired by his two arms the country of Dakshiṇa-Kosala.' I take *drumaḥ* to be an adjective to *vaṁśaḥ* and regard Kielhorn's correction to *sphītaṁ* and *drumaṁ* as unnecessary.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, p. 269.

With one exception noted below all the relevant inscriptions of the line state that Kaliṅgarāja was born *in the family of* the youngest son of Kokalla.[1] This implies that there was a lapse of time between Kokalla and Kaliṅgarāja. This receives confirmation from the fact that in the Ratanpur inscription Kaliṅgarāja is distinctly said to have been born in the family of the younger son of Kokalla *in course of time* (*kramāt*). This leaves no alternative but to identify Kokalla with Kokalla I, belonging to the latter half of the ninth century.

The Kharod inscription of Ratnadeva III, however, states, contrary to all other inscriptions, that Kaliṅganṛipati was the youngest son of Kokalla himself.[2] As it is not possible to push back Kaliṅgarāja to the times of Kokalla I in view of the synchronism of his son Kamalarāja and Gāṅgeya of the main line, Dr. N. P. Chakravarti holds in his edition of the Kharod inscription that Kokalla should rather be identified with Kokalla II of the early eleventh century. He derives support from the fact that in the Amoda plates the Kokalla concerned is said to have 'forcibly snatched away the treasuries, horses and elephants of the lords of Kārṇaṭa (*sic.* Karṇāṭa), Lāṭa, Gūrjara, the master of the king of Śākambharī, *Turushka* and of him born in Raghu's family and made a pillar of victory in the world.'[3] The mention of the Turushka decisively shows, according to Dr. Chakravarti, that it is Kokalla II who is intended here, as it was not possible for the first king of that name to have fought a Muḥammadan power. But as we have suggested elsewhere,[4] the reference is valueless for historical purposes, as in no record of the main Kalachuri line are these exploits ascribed to Kokalla I or Kokalla II. The record in question was composed about two centuries later than the time of Kokalla I, in an age when Muḥammadan invasions were looming large in the eyes of the people, and their defeat, supposed or real, by a native prince was naturally considered to be a feat of the highest credit. We should also remember that not even in the case of Kokalla II can the defeat of the Muḥammadans be regarded as a fact; for though

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1 *Cf.* Amoda plates of Pṛithvīdeva I, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 75.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 159. The Pendrabandh plates, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 1, reads *teshām=anūjas=tu* etc., instead of the usual *teshām=anūjasya*. This would appear to support the Kharod inscription. It seems that in the last days of the dynasty Kaliṅgarāja came to be regarded as the son and not merely a descendant of Kokalla. But the testimony of the earlier inscriptions must be taken as more authoritative.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 75.

4 *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XV, p. 165.

he was a contemporary of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, his name does not figure in Firishta's list of princes confederating against the Sulṭān.

The relation of the Kalachuris with Kosala does not begin with the establishment of the house of Kaliṅgarāja. For in the Bilhari inscription we are told that Mugdhatuṅga, the second Kalachuri king of Tripurī, took Pāli from the lord of Kosala; and a similar statement also occurs in the Benares plates of Karṇa.[1] In the Bilhari inscription again, another king Lakshmaṇarāja is stated to have defeated the lord of Kosala.

Nor is this all. The Kharod inscription says that Kaliṅgarāja became the lord of Tummāṇa through the worship of Vaṅkeśvara. It is more clearly stated in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladeva that he acquired the land of Dakshiṇa-Kosala and fixed his capital at Tummāṇa as it had formerly been made a place of royal residence by his ancestors. There is no king of the main Kalachuri line who is known to have shifted his capital, even temporarily, to Tummāṇa; nor could he be properly called an ancestor of Kaliṅgarāja. It seems, therefore, that some forefather of Kaliṅgarāja, a *maṇḍala-pati* of Tritasaurya, conquered and held Tummāṇa for some time. The occupation, however, was only temporary, as Kaliṅgarāja did not inherit Kosala but had to reconquer it. Hiralal plausibly identifies Tummāṇa with Tumana in the Lapha zamindari of the Bilaspur district.[2]

As the capital was fixed by Kaliṅgarāja at Tummāṇa, the Kalachuris of Kosala became known as kings of Tummāṇa. In the Kharod inscription, for example, Kamalarāja, the son of Kaliṅgarāja, is called the 'lord of Tummāṇa.' And Jājalladeva II, one of the late kings of the dynasty, is still given the same title in the Malhar inscription,[3] long after Tummāṇa ceased to be the capital of Kosala. It seems that Tummāṇa came to denote a country,

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1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 305; Vol. I, p. 254.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 267 f. The Seori-narayan plates of Ratnadeva II, as read by Pandeya Sharma (*Ind. Hist. Qrly.*, Vol. IV, p. 31), contains the following passage: *Tripurīśasy=ānujasy=āsīd=Vaṅko-Tummāṇa-bhūbhujaḥ Kaliṅgarājas=tat-sūnur=āsīt Kamalarāṭ nṛipaḥ.* The wordings of the inscription are entirely different from the standard form of other grants of the dynasty, the whole of the text being in verse. Moreover, the issuer, Ratnadeva II, has been called a Mahārāṇaka, a designation not given to him in any other inscription. It is possible, therefore, that the grant is spurious, though it must be admitted that the date is regular, including the mention of a real lunar eclipse. The published impression of the inscription is extremely faulty, making a palæographical examination of the inscription practically impossible. Vaṅko-Tummāṇa may have been a popular name of the city due to the presence of the Vaṅkeśvara temple there. But the passage as it stands does not give good meaning, and the correction to *vaṁśe Tummāṇa-bhūbhujaḥ* may be suggested.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 39.

identical with Kosala.[1] Still later on, we find in the Krishnapur inscription the mention of a Tuṁghāna king defeated by Anaṅga-Bhīma of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty.[2] Though the editor of the inscription sees in the word a reference to Tughrail Khān, it is most probably to be regarded as a variant of Tummāṇa.

There are the following landmarks helping us to fix tentatively the dates of the earlier kings of the dynasty:

(1) Kamalarāja, the second king, was a contemporary of Gāṅgeya of the main line, who reigned from *c.* 1010 to 1041.

(2) An inscription of Pṛithvīdeva I, the fourth king, is dated A.D. 1079.

(3) An inscription of the fifth king, Jājalladeva I, is dated A.D. 1114.

(4) One of the inscriptions of Ratnadeva II, the sixth king, is dated A.D. 1128.

(5) As we shall see below, Ratnadeva II defeated Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, the Eastern Gaṅga king; he was also the contemporary of Choḍagaṅga's son Madhu-Kāmārṇava, as an inscription mentions his engagements (though uncertain) with Jaṭeśvara, a secondary name of Madhu-Kāmārṇava (accession 1142).

(6) An inscription of Pṛithvīdeva II, the successor of Ratnadeva II, is dated A.D. 1145.

It is therefore fairly established that Ratnadeva II died about the year 1144. Assuming that Kamalarāja was a younger contemporary of Gāṅgeya, he must be regarded to have come to the throne in *c.* 1020. We have thus to distribute a period of about 124 years (A.D. 1020–1144) among five kings. We thus arrive at the following dates:

1.	Kaliṅgarāja	995–1020.
2.	Kamalarāja	1020–1045.
3.	Ratnadeva I	1045–1070.[3]
4.	Pṛithvīdeva I	1070–1095.
5.	Jājalladeva I	1095–1120.
6.	Ratnadeva II	1120–1144.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Mahamadpur inscription, *P.R., A.S.W.C.*, 1903–04, p. 50; Ratanpur inscription of V.S. 1247, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 45.

[2] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXVII, pt. i, p. 322.

[3] As we shall see below, it is likely that his death actually took place in 1066. That, however, does not affect the general chronological scheme, as it is admitted that we must allow a margin of a few years in all these dates. It only shows that the scheme is not wide off the mark.

[4] This seems to conflict with the Kugda inscription, dated A.D. 1141-42, which mentions Pṛithvīdeva as ruling. But as we shall see below, Ratnadeva must have

The chronology thus fixed is highly tentative, but it is workable, fitting with all known facts. A more accurate dating is not possible at present.

Kaliṅgarāja was succeeded by his son Kamalarāja. In the Amoda plates, it is stated that he churned the king of Utkala and contributed prosperity to the treasury of Gāṅgeyadeva.[1] This clearly shows that the relation of the Tummāṇa line with the main Kalachuri kings was still very cordial and more or less subordinate, as Kamalarāja made over the booty to Gāṅgeyadeva.

Dr. Chakravarti suggests that the Utkala king was the contemporary Eastern Gaṅga king. This, however, is doubtful, as no Gaṅga king before Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga is known to have held Utkala. The Vizagapatam grant of that king, dated A.D. 1118-19, describes him as being 'decorated with the entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala.'[2] The *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin (ii, 5) says that Rāmapāla of Bengal (*c.* 1084–1126)[3] was helped by Jayasiṁha, the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, who was the victor of the Utkaleśa Karṇakesarin. This proves the existence of an independent line in Utkala in the eleventh century. The *kesarin* ending of the name of the above king may suggest his connexion with Unmaṭṭakesarin, a late king of the Bhauma line, mentioned in the Dhenkanal grant,[4] or with Uddyotakesarin, one of the last scions of the Somavaṁśī kings of Kosala.[5]

In the Kharod inscription Kamalarāja is called 'the lord of Tummāṇa'. Through inadvertence his name is omitted in the Pendrabandh plates of Pratāpamalla.

Rājendra Chola I of the Chola dynasty came to the throne in 1012. His famous Tirumalai inscription of the twelfth year of his reign (A.D. 1023), in recounting his victories, mentions, between

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lived after A.D. 1142, as he fought with the Eastern Gaṅga Madhu-Kāmārṇava. As the inscription is fragmentary, is it likely that the date has been read wrongly?

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 75. The portion runs thus: *kshīṇ=odapu(m=U)tkala-nṛipaṁ parimathya dhīro Gādre(ṅge)yadeva-vibhave samadāch=chhriyaṁ yaḥ.* It is unnecessary to correct *samadāch* to *śa°*, as has been done by the editor. N. P. Chakravarti is right in pointing out that the line means that Kamalarāja 'made over to Gāṅgeya the goddess of wealth (arising out of the churned enemy),' and not 'tried to equal Gāṅgeya in prosperity', as was thought by Hiralal. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 161.)

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 165.

[3] I accept the dating of H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 385, which must be a near approximation.

[4] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, p. 419.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 166, etc.

Oḍḍavishaya and Taṇḍabutti, the country of Kośalai-nāḍu, 'where Brāhmaṇas assembled', as one of the places conquered.[1] As his Nandigunda inscription of 1021 [2] does not mention his northern exploits, it may be reasonably held that the northern campaign of his general took place between 1021 and 1023, when either Kaliṅgarāja or his son Kamalarāja was on the throne of Tummāṇa. There is no doubt that the conquest (if it was really effected) was of a very temporary nature, not changing the political conditions of the countries concerned. It has been suggested that the phrase qualifying Kosala, *viz.* 'where Brāhmaṇas assembled', shows that the Brāhmaṇas of the Madhyadeśa fled to this part of the country as a result of the invasion of Maḥmūd of G͟hazna.[3] It is doubtful if the G͟haznī really produced such a great consternation in the society of the Madhyadeśa. The presence of Madhyadeśīya Brāhmaṇas in other parts of India dates from centuries earlier than the time of Maḥmūd of G͟haznī. The suggestion that the phrase has been meaninglessly attached to Kosala to maintain the prose-rhythm [4] is much more convincing.

The Manimangalam inscription of the Chola king Rājādhirāja, dated 1046, contains the following passage: 'The tribute paid without remission by the Villavar (Chera), Mīṇavar (Pāṇḍya), Velakular, Śalukkiyar (Chālukya), Vallavar, Kauśalar (Kosaḷa), Vaṅgaṇar, Koṅgaṇar (Koṅkaṇa), Śindurar (Sindhu), Aiyaṇar, Śiṅgalar (Siṁhala), Paṅgaḷar, Andirar (Āndhra) and many other kings . . (he) gladly gave away to those versed in the four Vedas.' [5] Rājādhirāja ruled from 1018 to 1043 with his father and from 1042 to 1052 independently. The Kosala king referred to must, therefore, be either Kamalarāja or his son Ratnadeva I according to our chronology. It must, however, be pointed out that the inclusion of such distant places as Sindhu makes the whole passage smack of wild exaggeration.

A Shikarpur inscription of A.D. 1068 says about the Western Chālukya king Someśvara I (A.D. 1042–68) that 'the worthless kings of . . . . Kośaḷa . . . . . did not remain insolent, but gave tribute and stopped within their appointed boundaries,—how great was the power of Āhavamalla.' [6] The description need not be

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 229.
[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, N. 134.
[3] *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. II, p. 328.
[4] Nilakantha Sastri, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VII, p. 208; *Cf. The Colas*, Vol. I, p. 251 n.
[5] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 51.
[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. No. 136.

taken seriously, and it may only be said that the Kosala contemporaries of Someśvara were Kamalarāja and Ratnadeva I.

The next king of Tummāṇa was Ratnarāja I, the son of Kamalarāja, also called Ratneśa in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladeva. We have dated him 1045-70. In the same inscription it is said that he beautified with gardens and palaces the city of Tummāṇa, with its temples of the holy Vaṅkeśa (no doubt the same god through whose grace Kaliṅgarāja won the throne and who therefore came to be regarded as the family deity), and of [Ratne]śvara (founded by this king himself, to judge from the name). It is also said that he built a city called Ratnapura, probably with the help of a *śreshthin*.

The Karuvur and Tirumukkudal inscriptions of Vīrarājendra Chola say about that king: 'In the front of his banner troop [he] cut to pieces Siṅgan (the king) of the warlike Kosal[ai], along with the furious elephants of [his] vanguard.' [1] The first of these inscriptions records a royal grant that was to take effect from the year which followed the third year, *i.e.* the fourth year. As the accession of Vīrarājendra took place in 1063, the claimed defeat and slaughter of the Kosala king took place by 1066. If the fact related in the inscription is correct (and we have no reason to doubt it), we have to conclude that Ratnadeva fell in a battle with the Cholas. It is likely, therefore, that Ratnadeva died in *c.* 1066, which comes very near the year suggested in our tentative chronology. Curiously enough, there is a passage in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladeva which may indicate Ratnadeva's death in a battle.[2]

Ratnadeva is known to have married Nonallā, the daughter of Vajuvarman, lord of the *maṇḍala* of Komo.[3] The same prince is called Vajjūka in the Ratanpur inscription mentioned above. The Komo-*maṇḍala* is also mentioned in the Rajim inscription, where it is stated that a chief Devasiṁha conquered it, probably in the reign of Jājalladeva I.[4] A place still bearing the same name exists forty miles to the north of Bilaspur.

Ratnarāja was succeeded by his son Pṛithvīdeva I in *c.* 1070. He is called Pṛithvīrāja in the Amoda plates [5] and Pṛithvīśa in

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1 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 30; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 220.

2 *Ratnarāje yudhi ripu-jayini svar-gate*, which may mean 'when Ratnarāja went to heaven in a victorious battle,' or 'when Ratnarāja, the victor of enemies in battle, went to heaven'.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 75.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 139.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 75. He is probably intended to have been the donor of the spurious Lapha plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 293.

the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladeva. In the said Amoda plates of the year 831 (A.D. 1079), which form the earliest epigraphic record of the dynasty, he is called *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda*, which titles indicate his subordinate position, the suzerainty being no doubt held by the Kalachuris of Tripurī. *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* probably means 'the great lord of the [Kosala] *maṇḍala*', a dignity higher than *maṇḍaleśvara*; but it may also mean 'the lord of the [Kosala] *mahā-maṇḍala*, for it might have been necessary to give Kosala a status superior to the smaller *maṇḍalas* into which Kosala had been divided for administrative purposes. The same inscription also says that he obtained the lordship of the whole of Kosala 21,000 through the grace of Vaṅkeśvara. The inscription records the grant of the village Vasahā (modern village of the same name in the Bilaspur district) in the Yayapura *maṇḍala* (modern Jaijaipur, ten miles from Amoda) on the occasion of the dedication of a *Chatushkikā* or hall resting on four pillars. In the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladeva I it is stated vaguely that he gave peace and prosperity to the land. He also built a temple called Pṛithvīdeveśvara at Tummāṇa and a big tank at Ratnapura, which shows that both the cities were important in his time. He married Rājalladevī or Rājallā of unknown lineage.[1] From the Seori-narayan inscription we know that Pṛithvīdeva had a younger brother Śarvadeva, whose fourth descendant is said to have been a contemporary of Jājalladeva.[2] The date of the inscription (year 919=A.D. 1167)[3] shows that it belongs to the reign of Jājalladeva II and that, therefore, the Pṛithvīdeva referred to can only be the first king of the name. The inscription goes on to state that this Śarvadeva obtained the property of Śoṇṭhiva as his share of patrimony (*dāyādāṁśa*) and settled here. In that city he built a temple of Śiva and a lake and laid out an orchard.

Pṛithvīdeva was succeeded by his son Jājalladeva I (*c.* 1095 to 1120). The following inscriptions of his reign are known:

(1) Ratanpur inscription of the year 866=A.D. 1114, recording the establishment of a *maṭha* for ascetics, the laying out of a garden, sinking of a tank and probably the building of a temple at Jājallapura and the grant of some villages by the king.[4]

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 32; Vol. XIX, p. 209.

[2] *P.R., A.S.W.C.*, 1903-04, p. 52.

[3] D. R. Bhandarkar now says that the date is 919 and not 917, as printed in *P.R., A.S.W.C.*, 1903-04, p. 52; *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 1242 n.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 32.

(2) Inscriptions in a temple at Pali (near Ratanpur) mentioning the name of Jājalladeva as the builder of the temple. From the style of the temple Cousens thinks that Jājalladeva I is meant.[1]

The first inscription contains much useful information about the king. We are assured that because of his prowess he was honoured with wealth by such distant kings as Kanyakubja and Jejābhuktika as a hero. It cannot be guessed how he was brought into relationship with the contemporary Gāhaḍavāla kings of Kanauj, *viz.* Chandradeva, Madanapāla and Govindachandra, and the Chandella kings of Jejābhukti, *viz.* Kīrtivarman, Sallakshaṇavarman and Jayavarman.

The inscription further says: 'Tell [me], has such a king been ever seen or heard of, a king possessed of the seven-fold prosperity, by whom, after the slaughter of an immeasurable [horde of] army, Someśvara was caught in a battle, a group of Someśvara's councillors and wives were imprisoned, but were released at the saying of his mother?' The Someśvara referred to was no doubt a Nāgavaṁśī king of Bastar, whose known dates are A.D. 1069(?), 1095, 1097 and 1109,[2] a king of great prowess, who in his Kuruspal inscription claims to have conquered Uḍra, Chola, Lañji, Ratnapura, etc., and to have taken six lakhs and ninety-six thousand villages of Kosala.[3] The number of villages is grossly exaggerated, but the details of the engagement between Someśvara and Jājalladeva are realistically described in the inscriptions of both the parties, and as usual in such cases we must leave undecided which party was really victorious.

In a mutilated passage in the Ratanpur inscription the relation of Jājalladeva with the kings of Chedi is referred to, though not much sense can be brought out of the passage. It is likely the Jājalladeva was gradually trying to throw off the subordinate position which had been held by all his ancestors, as is shown by the fact that he formed independent alliances with the distant Chandellas and Gāhaḍavālas.

It is also said that Jājalladeva succeeded in exacting tribute from the chiefs of some neighbouring *maṇḍalas*, of which the following are mentioned: [Dakshi]ṇa-Kosala, Āndhra, Khimiḍi,[4] Vai[rā]gara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍapura, Nandāvali and Kukkuṭa, all of which gave him [tribute ?], fixed year by year (*anvabda-kḷipta*) to

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[1] *P.R., A.S.W.C.*, 1903-04, p. 28.

[2] Hiralal, *Inscriptions of C.P. and Berar*, 2nd edition, pp. 158 f.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 25.

[4] Kielhorn proposes to take Āndhra and Khimiḍi together to form one place-name.

his delight (?). The mention of Dakshiṇa-Kosala is rather intriguing, as the Kalachuris were already masters of the whole of Kosala, Pṛithvīdeva I calling himself 'lord of all Kosala 21,000'. Probably it is to be explained by the suggestion made above that Kosala was now regarded a *mahāmaṇḍala* and that the governors of the different *maṇḍalas* constituting it paid regular tribute to Jājalladeva.

The following identifications have been proposed by Kielhorn: Āndhra-Khimiḍi is Kimiḍi in the Ganjam district, and Lañjikā is Lañji, 38 miles to the south-east of Balaghat.[1] Bhāṇāra has been identified by Hiralal with the present Bhandara. He further thinks that Talahāri must have been somewhere south of Ratanpur and included probably the northern portion of the Janjir tahsil.[2]

In the Kharod inscription Jājalladeva is said to have made powerless the lord of Suvarṇapura (*Suvarṇapura-nāthaṁ Bhuja-balam=abalaṁ chakre*), no doubt identical with the city that had been the capital of the Guptas of Kosala, situated on the confluence of the rivers Telā and Mahānadī.[3]

From all these facts it seems that Jājalladeva was not contented to let his dynasty remain a mere provincial offshoot of the Tripurī house, but made his prowess felt outside the limits of his kingdom. Following in the wake of his forefathers he founded a city named Jājallapura, which has been identified by Hiralal with Janjnagar, 12 miles from Ratanpur.[4]

The Rajim inscription mentions some persons who in successive generations made some conquests.[5] As these names occur in some of the following reigns as well, it may be proper to give their genealogy here: One, belonging to the Rājamāla-kula that gave delight to the Pañchahaṁsa or Panchatriṁsa(triṁśa) race, obtained the *pañcha-mahāśabda*. He had two sons, Sāhilla and Vāsudeva. The former in turn had three sons, Bhāyila, Desala and Svāmin, who conquered the Bhaṭṭavi(va)la and Vihāra countries. Svāmin had two sons, Jayadeva, who acquired Daṇḍorā, and Devasiṁha who took Komo-*maṇḍala*. One of them married Thakkurājñī Udayā and had a son named Jagapāla, who forced the valorous Māyūrikas and Sāvantas to take to mountains and who in the reign of Jājalla conquered a country the name of which cannot be made out.

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1 The place is also mentioned in connexion with Someśvara of Nāga-vaṁśa, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 25.

2 *Loc. cit.*, pp. 116 and 128.

3 *Telā-Mahānadī-vimala-jala-pavitrīkrita*, *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, p. 45.

4 *Loc. cit.*, p. 117.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 35.

Jājalladeva's queen was Lāchhalladevī.[1] His religious preceptor Rudraśiva and his *sāndhivigrahika* Vigraharāja are mentioned in the Ratanpur inscription. In the Pendrabandh plates of Pratāpamalla he is called the patron of good arts (*āśrayaḥ sat-kalānām*).

The letters *śrī-Magaradhvaja Jogi* 700 are found inscribed 'on temples and scattered over a vast area lying between Baijnath close to the Ganges on the north and Bhairamgarh in the Bastar State bordering on the Godāvarī in the south and Chittorgarh in the north-west to Cuttack in the east, covering the whole of the Central Provinces and parts of Bihar, Orissa, Central India and Rajputana.' Evidently this ascetic was a personage of some consequence. It is interesting to note that a manuscript history of the Ratanpur kings records the existence of a *maṭha* of Magaradhvaja with 700 disciples at Ratanpur. It is said that he set out on pilgrimage with his disciples, Jājalladeva being one of them, and never returned.[2]

Jājalladeva's son Ratnadeva I came to the throne after his father in *c.* 1120. The following inscriptions of his reign are known:

(1) Seori-narayan copper-plate of the year 878=A.D. 1127, recording the grant of the village Tiveni in Anarghapallī.[3]

(2) Sarkhon (Bilaspur district) copper-plate of the year 880=A.D. 1128, recording the gift of the village Chiṁchātalāī (modern Chicola in the Bilaspur district) to one Padmanābha who predicted a lunar eclipse.[4]

(3) Kotgadh (Bilaspur district) inscription, recording the exploits of a Vaiśya Vallabharāja.[5]

(4) Probably a fragmentary Akaltara (Bilaspur district) inscription of the same Vallabharāja.[6]

Ratnadeva is the first ruler of his line who definitely entered into hostile relation with the Tripurī line. In the Ratanpur inscription of the year 1247 it is stated that he was the fierce submarine fire to (dry up) the unique sea of the host of the army of the Chedi king (*Chedi-narendra-durjaya-chamū-chakr-aika-vārāṁ-nidheḥ*). Though the name of the king concerned is missing in the original, it is evident that it refers to the king succeeding Jājalladeva and

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1 Kotgadh inscription, *P.R., A.S.W.C.*, 1903-04, p. 51; mentioned unconnectedly in Kugda inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 84 and Akaltara inscription, *P.R., A.S.W.C.*, 1903–04, p. 52.

2 Hiralal, *Ind. Hist. Qrly.*, Vol. III, p. 408; *Inscriptions*, p. 125.

3 *Ind. Hist. Qrly.*, Vol. IV, p. 31.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 159.

5 *P.R., A.S.W.C.*, 1903-04, p. 51.

6 *Ibid.; Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 84.

preceding Prithvīdeva, *i.e.* Ratnadeva II. It seems, therefore, that he definitely broke off the Tripurī tutelage, nominal though it had been,—a course of action in which he was probably following the policy of his father.

An achievement figuring prominently in the inscriptions about Ratnadeva is his victory over the famous Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. Thus the Ratanpur inscription says that he was 'the Rāhu to (devour) the grown-up moon that was the warriors of Choḍagaṅga'. The Malhar inscription of Jājalladeva mentions him as 'the fierce cloud to appease the continuous heat caused by the great and spreading fire that was the prowess of King Choḍagaṅga'.[1] A mutilated passage in the Kharod inscription, in which the name Choḍagaṅga occurs, probably refers to the same fact. And the victory is also referred to in the Pendrabandh plates. As the Sarkhon plates of A.D. 1128 do not mention the incident, it may be held that it took place late in his reign.

The Khorod inscription has a further unconnected reference to Jaṭeśvara, who is to be identified with Madhu-Kāmārṇava VII, the son of Choḍagaṅga, which shows that Ratnadeva also claimed victory over him. As it is not possible to bring the date of Ratnadeva later than 1145, the earliest known date of his successor, and as Jaṭeśvara is known to have come to the throne in 1142,[2] the engagement between Ratnadeva and Jaṭeśvara must have taken place between 1142 and 1144.[3] The defeat of petty southern chiefs by Jājalladeva I may have brought matters to a crisis, resulting in a determined struggle between the two powers. As we shall see below, the hostility continued even in the succeeding generations.

The Kotgadh inscription acquaints us with a family of feudatories, beginning with the Vaiśya prince Devarāja and proceeding through his descendants Rāghava, Harigaṇa ('a support to the Kalachuri family') and Vallabharāja, who is mentioned also in the Kugda and Akaltara inscriptions.[4] He is stated to have overrun the Lahaḍa country and reduced the king of Gauḍa. Dr. D. R.

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[1] In both these places Kielhorn at first took Choḍagaṅga as two separate words, but corrected himself in *List*, Nos. 184 and 418.

[2] *Cf.* Kendu-patna plates of Narasiṁha II and two Puri plates of Narasiṁha IV (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXV, pt. i, p. 242; Vol. LXIV, pt. i, pp. 136 and 151). The last known date of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, however, is A.D. 1147 (*Madras Epigraphist's Report*, 1896, No. 153). This tends to show that Anantavarman coopted his son in the government in the last years of his reign.

[3] In the Pendrabandh plates Ratnadeva is also credited with the defeat of one Gokarṇa: *yaś=Choḍagaṅga-Gokarṇṇau yudhi chakre parāṅmukhau*. It is likely that Gokarṇa is identical with a chief of that name mentioned in the Gudiwada inscription as a subordinate of Anantavarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 162 n.

[4] See above.

Bhandarkar says that Lahaḍa is mentioned in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* along with Aśmaka and was therefore a southern power.[1] Hiralal, however, is in favour of identifying it with the tract of land south of Bilaspur, still now known as Ladia or Laria.[2] In Ratnadeva's reign Jagapāla, who had made some conquests in the preceding reign, conquered Talahāri and Sindūramāṅgu, considered by some writers to be the country round Ramtek.[3]

Ratnadeva continued the title 'lord of the whole of Kosala'.[4]

Of the next king Pṛithvīdeva II (*c.* 1144–60) the following inscriptions are known:

(1) Rajim stone inscription of the year 896=A.D. 1145, giving the account of Jagapāla's family.[5]

(2) Amoda plates of the year 900=A.D. 1149, recording the gift of the village Avalā (modern Aurabhata in the Lapha zamindari) in the Madhya-*maṇḍala*.[6]

(3) Amoda plates of the year 905=A.D. 1154, granting the village Buḍubuḍu (modern Burbur in the same locality) in the Madhya-*maṇḍala*.[7]

(4) Ratanpur fragmentary inscription, in which some words, the date (910=A.D. 1158) and the king's name is legible.[8]

(5) Probably Mahamadpur fragmentary inscription[9] the contents of which are mentioned below.

(7) Spurious Ghotia plates of the year 1000, granting the village Goṭhaya. The date is wrong, whether referred to the Vikrama or the Chedi era.[10]

In the Kharod inscription he is credited with having defeated in battle the king Jaṭeśvara, *i.e.* Madhu-Kāmārṇava VII. This shows that the hostility with the Eastern Gaṅgas was continuing. In his reign Jagapāla, who also figured in the previous reign, took Saraharāgaḍha, Machaka-Siha[vā], Bhramaravadra, Kāntāra, Kusumabhoga, Kāndādoṅgara[11] and Kākarāyadeśa. Hiralal identified

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1 *P.R., A.S.W.C.*, 1903-04, p. 51.

2 *Loc. cit.*, p. 121.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

4 Amoda plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 209.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 135.

6 *Ind. Hist. Qrly.*, Vol. I, p. 409.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 412.

8 *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. XVII, pl. xx.

9 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85; *P.R., A.S.W.C.*, 1903–04, p. 50.

10 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, p. 41.

11 These are Hiralal's readings against Kielhorn's *Mavakā°* and *Kāndāse[hva]ra* respectively. *Loc. cit.*, p. 107.

Saraharāgaḍha with Sorar, Machaka-Sihavā with Mechka Sihawa, south of Dhantari, Bhramaravadra with Bhramarakūṭa, the old name of the central portion of Bastar, Kāndādoṅgara with the area south of Bindra-Nawagadh zamindari and Kākarāyadeśa with Kanker.[1] We may add that Kāntāra may denote the same land as Mahākāntāra of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

The Mahamadpur inscriptions shows that Vallabharāja continued to be important even in this reign. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar the same inscription says that the king had an elder brother called Akāladeva.[2]

The cabinets of the Indian Museum contain some coins with the legend Pṛithvīdeva, identified by Smith with this king.[3]

The last known date of Pṛithvīdeva is A.D. 1158, while the earliest inscription of his son Jājalladeva II is dated A.D. 1161. It can therefore be safely assumed that the latter came to the throne about 1160. The following inscriptions belong to his reign:

(1) Amoda plates of the year 912=A.D. 1161, chartering the grant of the village Bundera, which still exists under the same name in the Jangir tahsil.[4]

(2) Malhar (Bilaspur district) inscription of the year 919 A.D.= 1167-68, recording the erection of a Śiva temple at Mallāla by a Brāhmaṇa.[5]

(3) Śeori-narayan inscription of the same year, giving the genealogy of a collateral house.[6]

It is stated in his Amoda plates that he was seized by one 'alligator-like' Dhīrū but accidentally got back his kingdom; as a thanksgiving he made the grant mentioned above.

The Malhar inscription records the erection of a temple by the learned[7] Somarāja, the grandson of Pṛithvīdhara of the Madhyadeśa and the son of Gaṅgādhara, who had migrated to the Tummāṇa land and had been favoured by the prince Ratnadeva with the village Kosambī.

It has been said above that Pṛithvīdeva I had a younger brother named Śarvadeva. The inscription that acquaints us with

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[1] Some of these had already been identified by Kielhorn. For the identification of Bhramara-kūṭa, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 244.

[2] *P.R., A.S.W.C.*, 1903-04, p. 50.

[3] *Cat. of Coins in Ind. Mus.*, Vol. I, p. 254. *Cf. Numismatic Chronicles*, 1937, p. 298; *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, 1937, p. 12.

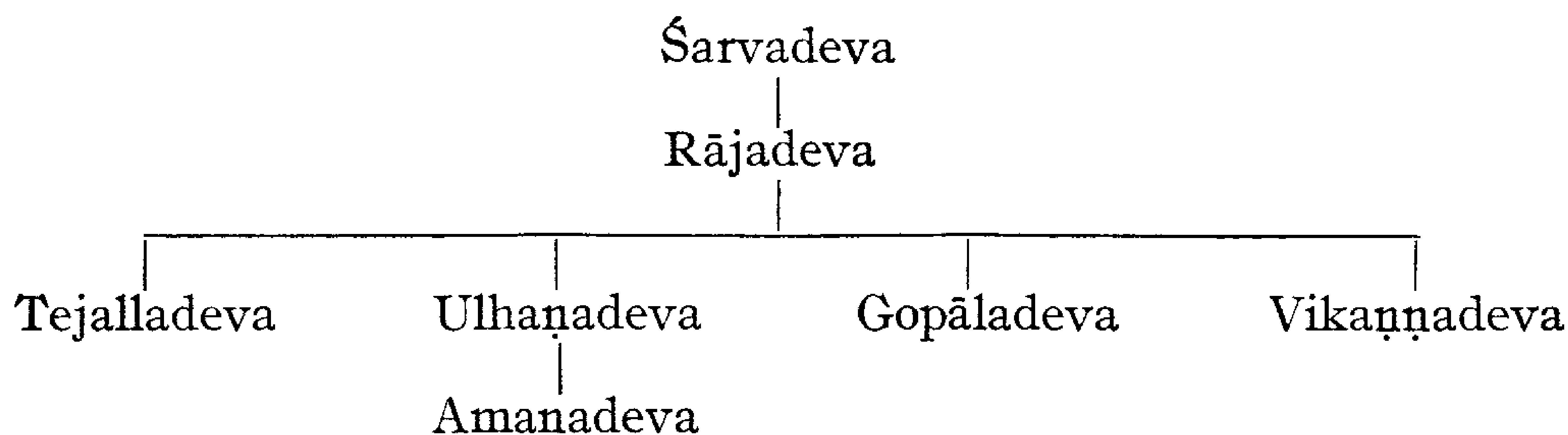
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 209.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 40.

[6] *P.R., A.S.W.C.*, 1903-04, p. 52.

[7] He was the opponent of the Chārvāka, Bauddha and Jaina philosophies.

this line of Śarvadeva is fragmentary and it is only possible to give the genealogy of the line that established itself at Soṇṭhiva:



Śarvadeva constructed a temple and a lake and laid out an orchard. Rājadeva again built a temple of Śiva and laid out a mango-grove and dug a tank. On Amaṇadeva, Jājalladeva II is said to have bestowed affection as on a son. The inscription contains an important reference to the defeat of Chedi ruler (of Tripurī) by a Ratnapura king, but unfortunately the names are lost.

The name of Jājalladeva is omitted in the Pendrabandh plates.

The Kharod inscription distinctly says that Jājalladeva II was succeeded by his elder brother Jagaddeva, a king unknown from any other source. It is said: 'After him (*i.e.* Jājalladeva) his elder brother, Jagaddeva, of unique prowess, came straight from the eastern country and became the lord of the kingdom.'[1] Dr. N. P. Chakravarti thinks that he had probably been absent all the while, fighting the Eastern Gaṅgas and could come to the throne only after his younger brother. We cannot, however, overlook the possibility of some court intrigue, as a result of which Jagaddeva had to be satisfied with some eastern districts or had to live as an exile during the lifetime of his younger brother.

Nothing is known about the reign of Jagaddeva. In the Pendrabandh plates of his grandson he is vaguely said to have fought many kings.

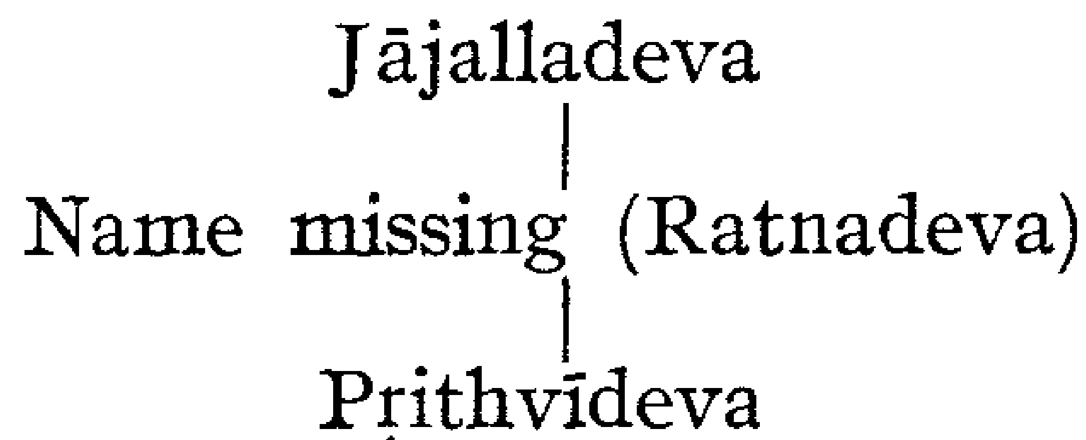
After him Ratnadeva III, his son, came to the throne in *c.* 1180. His Kharod inscription, dated 933=A.D. 1181, says that on the advice of his minister Gaṅgādhara he freed the land from enemies. This Gaṅgādhara is the same individual to whom he gave a village while still a prince (see above). The Pendrabandh plates bestow conventional praise on him, or Ratnarāja as he is called there.

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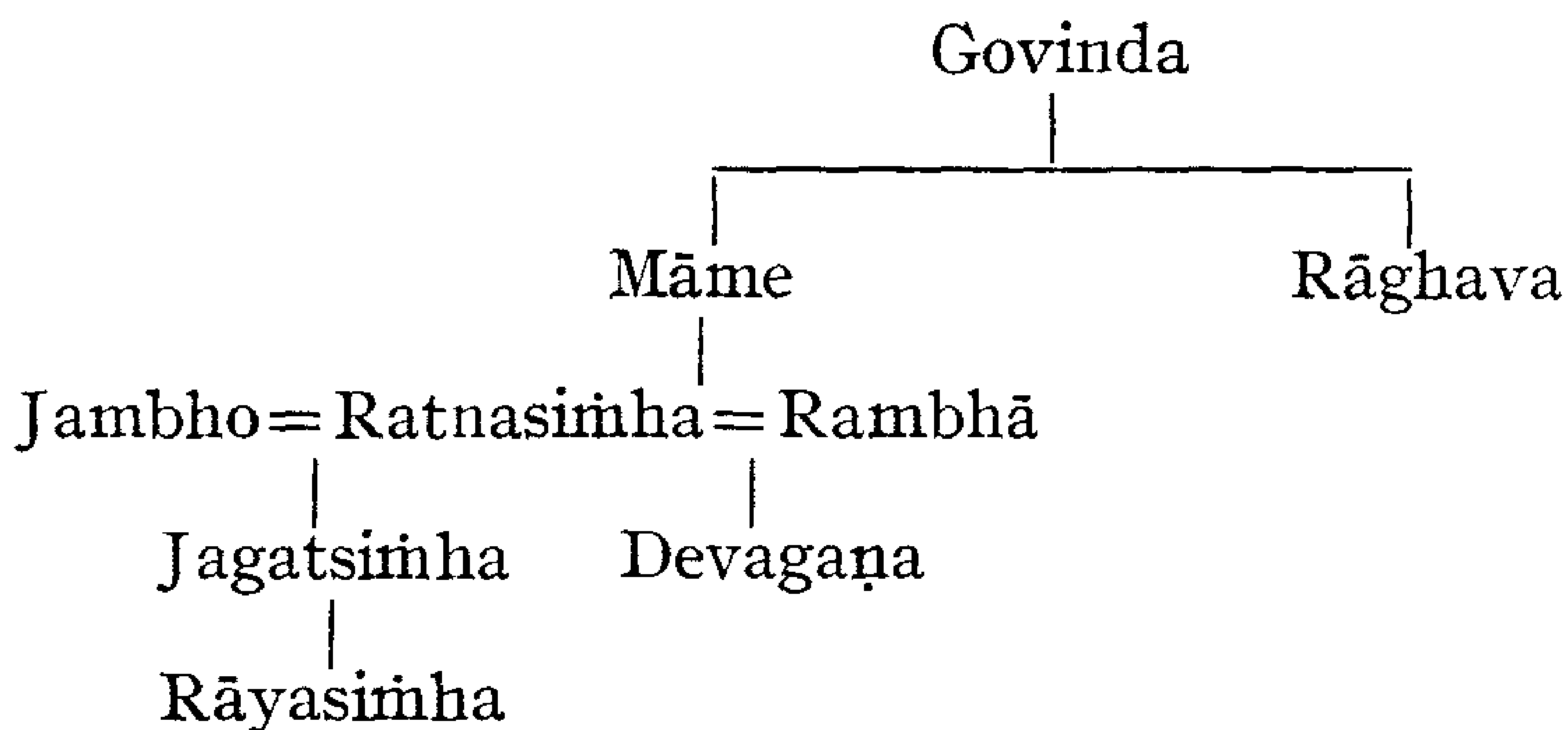
[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 159: *jyāyān=asya Jagaddevas=tataḥ prāg-deśato='ñjasā sametya rājy-ādhipatir=babhūv=ādbhuta-vikramaḥ.*

There are some coins of Ratnadeva in the Indian Museum, which Smith ascribes to this king.[1] His reign may be regarded to have come to an end in *c.* 1200.

We may take into consideration here the Ratanpur inscription of the year 1247=A.D. 1190,[2] which has been the source of some confusion. The last-named king in the inscription is Pṛithvīdeva; its date was read by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra as 1207[3] and by Kielhorn as 1247. Referred to the Vikrama era, the dates correspond to A.D. 1150 and 1190 respectively. The first year falls well within the reign of Pṛithvīdeva II, while Kielhorn postulated the existence of a Pṛithvīdeva III and placed him in 1190. But later on he suspected that the inscription really belongs to Pṛithvīdeva II and that the date given in the inscription was a mistake.[4] I do not see why he felt necessary to do so, as no chronological difficulty is involved even if we regard 1190 as the correct date of the inscription. The following kings are mentioned in the inscription:



From this genealogy it is not possible to decide which set of kings is intended here, for by itself it is correct both about Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II, as well as about Jājalladeva II, Ratnadeva III, and a hypothetical Pṛithvīdeva III. But the following facts lead us to believe that it is the earlier set that is intended here. It is stated in the inscription that *in the reign of this Pṛithvīdeva* (*rājye bhūmi-bhujo='sy=aiva*) the learned Govinda of the Vāstavya race came to Tummāṇa from Chedi. The following successors of his are mentioned:



[1] Smith, *loc. cit.*
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 45.
[3] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 283.
[4] Kielhorn, *List,* Supplement, p. 17n.

Devagaṇa, who built a temple, being the grandson of Govinda, must have lived about forty years later than Govinda and Pṛithvīdeva. It is evident from this that it is Pṛithvīdeva II who is referred to here and that Kielhorn's date, *viz.* 1247=A.D. 1190, may therefore well be correct. It is thus unnecessary to postulate the existence of a Pṛithvīdeva III or to think that there is a mistake in the date. As Kielhorn himself pointed out, Ratnasiṁha, the son of Māme, composed the Malhar inscription of A.D. 1167-8,[1] which becomes anachronistic if the date of the present inscription be regarded as incorrect.

Ratnadeva III was succeeded by his son Pratāpmalla, whose Pendrabandh (Raipur district) inscription has been recently published.[2] He must be identical with the king some of whose coins, with the legend *Pratāpamalla* on the obverse and a lion on the reverse, have been discovered mostly at Balpur in the Bilaspur district.[3] He may also be identical with Pratāpasiṁhadeva mentioned in the unreliable traditional list of the Haihaya-vaṁśī kings of Ratanpur.

It is stated in his inscription that he was equal to Bali in strength, though he was young in age. His defeat of many kings is referred to and his personal beauty is hinted at. The inscription records the grant of the village Kāyaṭhā (modern Kaita, fourteen miles from Pendrabandh) in the Anargha-*maṇḍala*. The date is given as Tuesday, the 10th day of the bright Māgha of the year 965, which is irregular. The editor surmises that the engraver might have engraved *sudi* wrongly for *vadi*, the real date thus corresponding to January 7, 1214.

With Pratāpa we must finish our account of the Kalachuris of Kosala. For though traditional lists carry on the genealogy down to the middle of the eighteenth century,[4] epigraphic records are not forthcoming after 1214. It seems that the dynasty divided itself into two houses in the fourteenth century, the main house remaining at Ratanpur, and the second one establishing itself in Raipur. One of the princes of the latter house, Haribrahmadeva or Brahmadeva is known to us from a few inscriptions of the early fifteenth century.[5] They furnish us with the names of four

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1 Kielhorn, *List*, No. 184n.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 1.

3 *Ind. Hist. Qrly.*, Vol. III, p. 173.

4 Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. XVII, p. 78; Hiralal, *loc cit.*, pp. 205ff.

5 Khalari inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 228; Raipur inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 83.

generations of rulers: Lakshmīdeva; his son Simhaṇa; his son Rāmachandra; and his son Harirāyabrahma or Haribrahmadeva. It is also known that Haribrahma had his capital at Khalavāṭikā, which has been identified with the present Khalari, 28 miles from Raipur.

LE PROBLÉME DU SOMA

By JEAN PRZYLUSKI

Nous devons à Emile Senart une remarque pénétrante à laquelle on n' a pas prêté suffisamment attention. Dans son ouvrage sur *Les Castes dans l' Inde* (nouvelle édition, p. 10) il dit à propos des hymnes védiques: "quelque fortune qu' ils aient faite, si ample que soit l' autorité qui leur est finalement échue, ce sont essentiellement les chants rituels des sacrificateurs du Soma; ils n' embrassent qu' un secteur de l' horizon religieux". Senart met ici en lumière deux points essentiels: les hymnes védiques sont issus d' un milieu relativement étroit au sein de la société indienne; ce milieu était caractérisé au point de vue religieux par le sacrifice du Soma.

Envisagées par rapport à l' ensemble du monde indo-européen, les vues de Senart sont confirmées par un certain nombre de faits. Le sacrifice du Soma est limité à une aire assez restreinte. Ce n' est pas un usage indo-européen; il est tout au plus indo-iranien, sans qu' on puisse délimiter la partie du domaine indo-iranien à laquelle il appartenait tout d' abord.

Au temps où Senart écrivait, on n' avait nul moyen de se représenter, autrement que par conjecture, ce qu' était le sacrifice chez les peuples indo-européens antérieurement à l' introduction du Soma dans les rituels indo-iraniens. Il n' en est plus de même depuis la publication des textes hittites. Le Prof. Fr. Hrozný a publié en 1922 une transcription et une traduction française d' un Code hittite qui peut remonter au XIV^{e} siècle avant notre ère. La même année ce texte a été traduit en allemand par le Dr. H. Zimmern avec la collaboration du Dr. Joh. Friedrich. Voici comment les § 166 et 167 sont rendus littéralement en français par le savant tchèque:

166. Si sur une semence une autre semence quelqu' un sème, sur sa nuque la *ustensile* charrue il (=on) met, des bœufs d' attelage on attelle, de ceux-ci leur face par ci, de ceux-là leur face par là on dirige; les hommes meurent et les bœufs meurent et qui le champ antérieurement ensemençait, alors celui-ci (le) prend. Autrefois ceci on faisait.

167. Mais maintenant 1 mouton (comme) remplaçant de l' homme, 2 moutons (comme) remplaçants des bœufs, 30 pains, 3 *vaisseau* pihu (de bière) il donne, alors il (les) consacre (sacrifie)

et qui le champ antérieurement ensemençait, alors celui-ci (l') arrose.[1]

Le sens paraît être comme suit:

Si sur une terre ensemencée quelqu, un sème une autre semence, on place la charrue sur sa nuque; on attelle des bœufs qu' on dirige dans deux directions différentes (de manière à écarteler le coupable ?). L' homme et les bœufs sont tués et le champ est repris par celui qui l' avait d' abord ensemencé. C' est ainsi qu 'on faisait autrefois.

Maintenant le coupable donne un mouton qui le remplace, deux moutons substitués aux bœufs, trente pains, trois vaisseaux de bière; il les sacrifie et le champ est cultivé par celui qui l' avait d' abord ensemencé.

Ce texte est important parce qu' il nous permet de comparer deux états successifs du rituel hittite. Dans l' état ancien, on sacrifiait le coupable et ses bœufs. Dans l' état nouveau, qui témoigne d' un notable adoucissement des mœurs, la victime humaine et les deux bœufs sont remplacés par trois moutons, auxquels on joint du pain et de la bière.

La loi hittite fournit ainsi une contribution à l' étude de trois grands problèmes:

(1) La substitution d' une victime animale à une victime humaine est attestée sur le domaine indo-européen avant la fin du second millénaire. Les textes védiques font allusion à des substitutions de ce genre dont l' importance a été mise en lumière par divers théoriciens, notamment par Sir James Frazer et récemment par M. G. Dumézil.[2] La loi hittite permet d' étayer une théorie qui a rencontré quelque scepticisme chez des indianistes éminents.

(2) Les Hittites cultivaient la vigne; mais l' usage du vin ne s' était pas généralisé dans le rituel au moment de la rédaction du Code: le § 164 mentionne le vin dans un rite de départ où son emploi était facultatif. La boisson usuelle dans les sacrifices paraît avoir été une bière préparée avec de l' orge. Cet usage, qui s' est maintenu chez les anciens Germains, ne serait donc pas une innovation germanique, mais la survivance d' un état de choses probablement antérieur à la diffusion du Soma sur le domaine indo-iranien.

(3) Dans le sacrifice hittite, l' aliment principal est la chair des victimes. Le pain et la boisson complètent le repas, mais la force sacrée, dangereuse et néfaste, qu' il s' agit de neutraliser, réside essentiellement dans l' homme et dans les bœufs à l' époque ancienne, plus tard dans les moutons substitués aux coupables. Au contraire,

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[1] Fr. Hrozný, *Code hittite provenant de l' Asie Mineure* (*vers 1350 av. J.-C.*) I[re] Partie, Hethitica I, Paris 1922, p. 129.

[2] G. Dumézil, *Ouranos-Varuṇa*, p. 70; *Flamen-Brahman*, p. 22 et suiv.

chez les tribus indiennes et iraniennes, le Soma est devenu l' élément essentiel du repas sacrificiel; c' est lui qui confère aux dieux comme aux hommes l' immortalité; c' est l' ambroisie et comme tel il est une divinité supérieure. Nous avons donc à deux époques successives, non slulement des rites différents, mais deux conceptions divergentes du sacrifice: le Soma a remplacé la boisson d' orge; d' autre part la chair des victimes, qui occupait le premier rang parmi les aliments rituels, a été surpassée par l' ambroisie. On ne saurait exagérer l' importance de cette évolution dans l' histoire des religions et de la civilisation de l' Inde.

Chez les populations germaniques la bière a continué longtemps à tenir la place qu' elle paraît avoir occupée dans la religion hittite; elle était, dit Maurice Cahen, "utilisée pour des fins religienses, mais n' était pas un breuvage sacré".[1] Après avoir cité cette phrase, M. G. Dumézil, bien qu' il soit porté à faire des réserves, ajoute cependant: "ni la bière ni aucune autre boisson ne joue, certes, dans la mythologie germanique le rôle d' ambroisie, c' est-à-dire n' assure par sa vertu propre l' immortalité des dieux . . . . ". Ces observations aident à mesurer l' intervalle entre le sacrifice hittite et le sacrifice du Soma.

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[1] M. Cahen, *La libation*, cité par G. Dumézil, *Mythes et dieux des Germains*, p. 112.

THE ERA OF THE MAHĀRĀJA AND THE MAHĀRĀJA RĀJĀTIRĀJA

By H. LÜDERS

The scholar to whom this volume is dedicated has solved so many riddles connected with Indian epigraphy and history that I venture to offer him the following remarks on a difficult problem in the hope that he will either assent to them or arrive at a more satisfactory solution.

Among the finds discovered by Führer during his excavations of the Kankālī Tīlā at Mathurā in the working season of 1895-96, there is an inscription on a stone slab which was published by Bühler, *Academy*, Vol. XLIX, p. 367 = *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, pp. 578f. = *Vienna Orient. Journ.*, Vol. X, pp. 171f., and again by R. D. Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 33ff., and Plate III. I edit it here from excellent estampages which I owe to the authorities of the Lucknow Museum where the stone has been deposited.

TEXT.

1. nama svarvaśidhanā [1] ārahātvanā [2] māhārājasya rājātirājasya svarvachchhara svate [3]............

2. 200 90 [2] [4] hamatamāse [5] 2 divase 1 ārāhāto Mahāvirāsya prāti[m] (ā)............

3. ....s[y]a Okhārikāye vitu Ujhatikāya [6] cha Okhāye svāvikā-bhaginiy[e] [7]............

4. ....śirikāsya [8] Śivadināsya [9] cha eteh [10] ārāhātāyatāne [11] sthāpitā [12]............

5. ....i[13] devakulaṁ cha—

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

[1] Banerji: *Sarva śīdhanaṁ.* Although the last *akshara* is undoubtedly meant for *naṁ*, the actually engraved letter can be read only *nā* as done by Bühler. [2] Bühler *Ārahāntanā*; Banerji *Arahātanaṁ*, but the last two letters are distinctly *tvanā*, although *nā* again is certainly meant for *naṁ*. [3] Banerji *saṁvachchhara-sate.* The reading given above is perfectly clear. Of the *akshara* following *svate* only a small portion is preserved. Bühler took it as the rest of *dā* and wanted to restore the line as *dūtiye vava* (?)-*navatyadhike*. However, what is left of the letter does not conform very well with the reading *dū*. The distinct slanting line has the appearance of the *ri*-sign, and I should read *tri*, if a plausible explanation could be found for that syllable in this place. [4] The figure for the unit of the date of the year is of unusual form. It was doubtfully read 9 by Bühler. Banerji thought

that it might be the earlier symbol for 9, which, for general reasons, is quite unlikely. In my opinion, it may just as well be the symbol for 8, the sign being stretched in a vertical direction with addition of a curve. But whether it be taken as 9 or as 8, in either case the very distinct two horizontal strokes after the figure as well as the slanting line crossing the middle of the figure would be left unexplained. May we not assume that the figure for 9 or 8 or whatever it may be was crossed out and replaced by the figure for 2? Under these circumstances I have ventured to put 292 as the date of the year in my transcript, but I admit that it is no more than a probability. [5] Perhaps the third *akshara* is really *hā*. [6] Both Bühler and Banerji read *Ujhatikāye*, but here the *ya* has no *e*-sign. [7] The *ya* is much smaller than the rest of the letters. The *e*-sign is doubtful. [8] This is probably only the second member of a compound name. [9] Bühler and Banerji read *Śivadināsya*, but the *ī*-sign of *dī* is distinct. [10] I have no doubt that Bühler was right in reading *eteḥ*, a mistake for *etaīḥ*. Banerji took the two horizontal strokes to be marks of interpunctuation. [11] The last *akshara* looks almost like *te*. [12] Banerji: *sthāpīt(o)*, but the last *akshara* is clearly *tā* as read by Bühler. [13] The *i*-sign was not noticed by Bühler and Banerji. May it be the rest of a word like *pushkariṇi*?

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to all Siddhas, to the Arhats! In the...... year of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja, (in the year) 292 (? or 299?), in the 2nd month of winter, on the 1st day, an image of the Arhat Mahāvira (*Mahāvīra*), (the gift) of . . . . , of Okhārikā and (their) daughter Ujhatikā, of Okhā the lay-sister, of . . . . śirika (. . . . . *śrīka*) and Śivadīna (*Śivadatta*)—by these (persons the image) was set up at the sanctuary of the Arhats, a . . . . and a shrine.

Through the breaking off of the lower corner on the proper right side of the slab, the beginnings of lines 3–5 are damaged, two *aksharas* being lost in line 3, three or perhaps four in line 4 and about five in line 5. It is more difficult to make out how much of the writing is missing at the end of the lines. The words at the end of lines 2 and 4 are complete or nearly so, only a small portion of the *mā* being destroyed. The smallness of the *ye* at the end of line 3 would seem to indicate that it was pressed in for want of space and that consequently only a narrow strip of the stone was missing, but possibly the letter has been inserted by an afterthought. At any rate, it is hard to believe that only one *akshara* should be lost at the end of the first line. Here a word of several syllables appears to be required by the context, and it is therefore probable that at the end of lines 2–4 also several *aksharas* are missing. We are thus justified in supplying, at the end of line 2, some word like *dānaṁ*, which is of importance for determining the relation of the words in the list of the donors. Bühler took *vitu*, which is evidently miswritten for *dhitu*, as an instrumental in apposition to *Ujhatikāya*, which he connected with the *sthāpītā* of line 4. The construction

is possible as *dhitu* occurs in exactly the same function also in the inscriptions Nos. 102 and 107.[1] But if Ujhatikā is taken as the first name in the list of the persons who set up the image, it is difficult to explain the *cha* after *Ujhatikāya* and perhaps even more difficult to explain the omission of the *cha* after the name of the mother; indeed of . . . . *sya Okhārikāye dhitu Ujhatikāya cha* we should rather expect . . . . *sya Okhārikāye cha dhitu Ujhatikāya*. If *dānaṁ* is supplied, we may translate, as I have done above: 'the gift of . . . . , of Okhārikā and (their) daughter Ujhatikā,' which seems to me to be faultless language. In this way the genitives . . . . *śīrikāsya Śīvadīnāsya cha* in line 4 also would become intelligible. It is hardly possible to connect them with *Okhāya svāvikā-bhagīniye* by supplying some word denoting relationship such as *e.g. mātu* in the beginning of line 4, as usually, at any rate, such a word is placed after the genitive. Nor is it likely that the genitives should be used here instead of the instrumentals in connection with *sthāpītā*, although in the *Sārnāth* inscription No. 925 we read: *bhikshusya Balasya trepiṭakasya bodhisatvo chhatrayashṭi cha pratishṭhāpito . . . . sahā mātāpitihi*. In the present inscription the genitives are followed immediately by *eteḥ*, which evidently stands for *etaiḥ*, and it would be inexplicable why the author of the text should not have given the personal names also in the instrumental case. In my opinion then the image is first denoted as the joint gift of six persons: of some man whose name is lost, of Okhārikā and their daughter Ujhatikā, of the lay-sister Okhā, of . . . . śīrika and Śīvadīna, and then it is added that by these persons the image as well as some other object and a shrine was established at the sanctuary of the Arhats. The wording of the record is similar as in No. 45[a]: *Yaśāya dāna Saṁbhavasya prodima pratistapita*, and in No. 47: *Dināye dānaṁ pratimā vodve thupe devanirmite pra(tithāpite)*.

The name of Okhārikā, in the slightly differing spelling Okharikā, is found again in a Jaina inscription from Mathurā which has been edited by D. R. Sahni, *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, p. 67, and Plate. Sahni reads *Damitrasya dhit[u] Okharikāye Kuṭubiniye Datāye dānaṁ Vardhamānapratimā pratithapita*. Judging from an estampage, I think that the first name has to be read *D[i]mītrasya*. The lower position of the *i*-sign of *di* is still preserved and the *ī*-sign of *mī* is pretty distinct. I understand the inscription to record the gift of Dimītra's daughter Okharikā and his housewife Datā, whereas Sahni translates: '(*this*) image of Vardhamāna, a gift of Okharikā, the daughter of Damitra, and Datā (Sanskrit Dattā), the wife of

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1 The numbers of the inscriptions refer to my *List of Brahmī Inscriptions*.

a householder', and adds in a note that *Kuṭubinī* may equally well be a proper name so that three ladies would have been mentioned as having presented the image. However that may be, Okharikā is certainly called the daughter of Dimītra. As Dimītra clearly represents the Greek name Demetrios, it is more than probable that Okharikā—Okhārikā also is a Greek name, and I think we may identify it with Eucharis, a female name, or perhaps better still, with Eucharia, which may have been formed as counterpart of the male name Eucharior. As for the rest of the names occurring in the present inscription, Ujhatikā, the name of Okhārikā's daughter, is hardly Indian, but I am unable to trace it back to a Greek prototype, whereas Okhā may very well reflect the Greek name Euche. Only the last-mentioned two men, ... Śirika and Śivadīna, appear to bear true Indian names.

Considering that Okhārikā or Okharikā is a very uncommon name, we should naturally feel inclined to regard the ladies of that name mentioned in the two inscriptions as identical, but for palæographical reasons this is impossible. The inscription edited by Sahni is dated in *Saṁ* 84, which undoubtedly is to be referred to the Kushān era as the characters show the ordinary features of the Kushān period. The date of the present inscription is problematic, but, as pointed out already by R. D. Banerji, the script forbids us to assign it to the later times of the Kushān rule. The subscript *ya* appears everywhere in the full tripartite form. During the Kushān period this form occurs in the Māṭ inscription edited by Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 12ff., which for palæographical reasons must be assigned to the first years of the Kushān rule, in the Sārnāth inscriptions Nos. 925–927 of the monk Bala, dated in *saṁ* 3, and in the Saheṭh-Maheṭh inscription No. 918, the date of which is lost, but which appears to belong to the same time as if records a gift of the aforesaid monk. In the Saheṭh-Maheṭh inscription, however, by the side of six instances of the tripartite form the cursive form also turns up in *Pushya[vuddhis]ya*. In the Mathurā inscriptions of this period the tripartite form occurs only occasionally along with the later form In a Buddhist votive inscription of *saṁ* 23 [1] the tripartite form is used in *mahārā[ja *]sya*, the cursive form in *etasya*, *v[i]hārasv[ā]m[i]sya Gundasya*, and *Puśyada[tā *]*. In No. 38, dated in *saṁ* 33, we find the tripartite form in *bhikshusya Balasya*, the cursive form in *devaputrasya*, *Kanishkasya*, *trepiṭakasya*, and an intermediate form in *mahārājasya*. In No. 35 [2], which belongs to the time of Huvishka, the tripartite form occurs in *maharajasya*, *Nagadatasya*,

1 First noticed by D. R. Sahni, *J.R.A.S.* 1924, pp. 400f.
2 The date is lost. It is not dated in *saṁ* 29.

the cursive form in *devaputrasya* and probably in *Hukshasya* (for *Hushkasya*). In No. 41, dated in *saṁ* 38, a very cursive *ya* appears to be used in *mahārājasya devaputrasya Huvishkasya*, but the tripartite form in a word read *aryyena* by Cunningham [1]. In No. 75, dated in *saṁ* 99, an intermediate form is found in *aryya-*, the later form in *Grahadatasya*. In No. 110, which is not dated, but probably belongs to the earlier Kushān times, we have the tripartite form in *ganisya*, the cursive form in *Parśvasya*. The exclusive use of the tripartite subscript *ya* is the strongest argument for referring the inscription to pre-Kushān times. It is supported by the fact that the *ya* throughout appears in the archaic form without the curve or the loop of the left bar which commonly is found in the inscription of the Kushān period. The second letter which here appears in the archaic form is the *śa*. It shows throughout the slanting central stroke which in the Kushān times turns up only sporadically [2] and generally is replaced by a horizontal cross line. The *va* occurs in two different forms, in the ordinary triangular form of the Kushān times in *divase, mahāvirāsya, vitu* (for *dhitu*), and in an oblong rounded form in *sarvachchhara, Śīvadīnāsya, devakulaṁ*. Both forms are used promiscuously also in the words discussed below where the *va* seems to denote a modification of the *s*-sound. It is not easy to decide whether the rounded *va* is the direct successor of the Maurya form or a retrograde development of the triangular form, though the latter view is the more probable one as a round *va* is occasionally found also in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushān times.[3] Whereas on account of the subscript tripartite *ya* and the archaic *śa* the inscription would seem to belong to the Kshatrapa period, there are a few letters which point to a little later time. The stroke which denotes the length of initial *ā* is here attached to the vertical, not opposite to the middle bar as in the Kshatrapa time, but lower down as in the Kushān period. The bottom-line of the *na* is here curved as in the Kushān inscriptions, although in various degrees. Whereas the curve is quite insignificant in *nama*, the *ne* of *ārāhātāyatāne* looks almost like *te*. In the inscriptions of the Kshatrapa period the base of *na* is generally still a straight line,

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[1] The inscription is lost, and we have to rely on Cunningham's drawing and a rubbing which is entirely spoiled by pencilling out the letters. The reading *aryyena* is extremely doubtful.

[2] No. 79 (time of Kanishka; only Cunningham's facsimile); No. 34 (*saṁ* 29); No. 41 (*saṁ* 38; only Cunningham's facsimile); No. 46 (*saṁ* 48); No. 45*a* (*saṁ* 48); No. 47 (*saṁ* 49); No. 56 (*saṁ* 60); No. 57 (*saṁ* 62); No. 35 (time of Huvishka); No. 62 (*saṁ* 77); No. 73 (*saṁ* 90); No. 74 (*saṁ* 93); No. 81 (date lost, but of Kushān time).

[3] No. 53 (*saṁ* 52); No. 57 (*saṁ* 62). An almost round *va* occurs already in No. 23*a* (*saṁ* 12) in *sāvikāṇaṁ*.

but a tendency to curve it is observable not only in Nos. 82, 98, 100, 105, but also in No. 93 which is probably about a century older than the Śoḍāsa inscriptions. In *ka* also the middle bar is curved as in the Kushān inscriptions. In the *ka* of the earlier period it is straight; a very slightly curved line is found only rarely, *e.g.*, in Nos. 98 and 105. In *divase, Śīvadīnāsya, devakulaṁ*, we find the regular *da* of the Kushān inscriptions. As regards the epigraphs of the Kshatrapa times, the same form occurs in No. 98 and approaching but a little more archaic forms in No. 105 and in the inscription edited by Ramaprasad Chanda, *M.A.S.I.*, No. 5, pp. 149ff. Taking all things together, I think, we may assert that as far as the palæographical evidence goes, the inscription has to be assigned to the time between the Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa and the Mahārāja Kanishka.

Now, however, the word following *svarvachchhara* may be restored and whatever may be thought about the meaning of the last figure of the date of the year, the inscription is certainly incised after the year 290 of some Mahārāja Rājātirāja. Before entering into the question how this date can be reconciled with the results arrived at by the examination of the script, we have to take into consideration another Mathurā inscription now preserved in the Curzon Museum (No. 1315). It is incised on a round piece of stone which was recovered from the Giridharpur Jītlā. Unfortunately the inscription is in a very fragmentary state, the proper left side of the stone being lost. I edit it here from an estampage kindly placed at my disposal by the Curator of the Museum.

TEXT.

1. vavika [1]
2. mahārājasya 200 70 bhu........
3. Gotamiye Balānā [2]........
4. tumā [3]
5. baladhikāsya bh [4]........
6. bhāryaye dānaṁ sa[r]va [5]........
7. [dha]pūchaye [6] sap[i].. mada [7]......

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

[1] The word is apparently meant to be inserted after the date. [2] The following letter may have been *sa* or *sya*, but this is not certain. [3] Perhaps *tumā* was followed by another *akshara* which now is illegible. The two, or three, *aksharas* seem to have been inserted afterwards. [4] The *akshara* was possibly *bhu*. [5] The *r*-sign is uncertain. [6] The reading of the first *akshara* is uncertain. [7] With the exception of *ma*, the reading of the word is quite uncertain. The first *akshara* may be *se*. The *i*-sign of *pi* is doubtful. The third *akshara* may be *bhu* or possibly *bu*.

It is impossible to offer a connected translation of the inscription. It records the gift of a lady who is called Gotamī (*Gautamī*) and the wife of some person who is styled *baladhika*, evidently an imperfect writing for *balādhika*. Possibly *balādhika* is the same military title which appears in the form of *balādhikṛita* in the Shāhpur inscription *Gs*. No. 43 [1], or it may stand for the more common title *balādhyaksha*. The name of the *balādhika* is lost with the exception of the first letter which perhaps was *bhu*. The words between *Gotamiye* and *baladhikāsya* must belong to the further description of the donatrix. Perhaps we may restore *balānā* in line 3 as *Balānāsya dhi* and combine the last syllable with the *tu* in the next inserted line, although in this way the *mā* after *tu* would be left unexplained. Balāna would be the true Śaka equivalent of the Iranian name Vardāna which as Valāna and Ulāna occurs also in records of the Kushān time. If the suggested restoration should be correct, it would follow that the donatrix was of Śaka descent, which at first sight would seem to be incompatible with her designation as Gotamī. But Gotamī need not necessarily be taken as an epithet characterising her as belonging to the Brahmanical gotra of the Gautamas. Among the Buddhists Gotamī appears to have been used also as a personal name in remembrance of the foster-mother of the Buddha. As such it occurs *e.g.* in the Sānchi inscription No. 623 which records a gift of the nun Gotamī. Unfortunately this explanation also is uncertain, as the object of the gift cannot be made out and we are not sure that the donatrix was an adherent of the Buddhist creed. Assuming that *pūchaye* is miswritten for *pūjāye* and that the next word begins *samitu*, the words of the last line may perhaps be translated: 'for the worship of...., (in honour) of their own father and mother'.

Unsatisfactory as the understanding of the record is, its date fortunately is perfectly clear, and there can be little doubt that 'the year 270 of the Mahārāja' refers to the same era as 'the year 292 (or 299) of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja' in the Jaina inscription. Palæography also shows that the two inscriptions cannot be separated by a long interval. The script of the Giridharpur record closely resembles the Khatrapa alphabet. We find here the subscript tripartite *ya* and the *ka* with a straight, though a little slanting, middle bar. The bottom line of the *na* is only slightly curved. In the *sha* of *rsha* the central bar does not touch the right vertical. The *da* looks even more archaic than in the Śoḍāsa inscriptions. As the Giridharpur inscription is at least 22 years, and if the reading

[1] A *mahābalādhikṛita* occurs in the Majhgawā copper-plate, *Gs*. No. 23.

299 is accepted, 29 years older than the Jaina inscription, this is exactly the state of things that we might expect.

In trying to determine the era used in the two inscriptions we have to fall back on the dates of Śoḍāsa and Kanishka. The only known date of Śoḍāsa is the year 72 in the Amohinī tablet (No. 59). I agree with Professor Konow who refers it to the Vikrama era, in which case it would correspond to 15 A.D. The era employed by Kanishka and his successors seems to have started in 128 A.D. If the years 270 and 292 or 299 are to be located within these limits, they can only be years of the Parthian era of 248-247 B.C. The dates then would correspond to 23 A.D. and 45 or 52 A.D. As we know nothing about the history of Mathurā during the century intervening between Śoḍāsa and Kanishka, we cannot tell at present why the Parthian era should have been used there at that time, but in my opinion the suggestion that the dates refer to a foreign, and probably the Parthian, era, is supported by styling the years simply years of the Mahārāja or of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja without adding a personal name. This strange mode of denoting the era has a parallel in Greek documents dated according to the Parthian era. In his masterly work 'The Greeks in Bactria and India', p. 65, W. W. Taru states that, when the Parthian kings had imitated the Seleucid era with one of their own, 'even under Parthian rule both Babylonia and the Greek cities kept to the Seleucid dating, though in Babylonia regularly, and among Greeks sometimes, both calendars were used as double dating, the Arsacid in that case being called by Greeks 'as the king reckons' and the Seleucid 'by the former reckoning'. Does not the term 'of the Great King' or 'of the Greek King, the King of Kings' sound like the Suddan equivalent of the Greek 'as the King reckons'?

The choice of the Parthian era for dating the two records will perhaps appear less surprising if we bear in mind that at least some of the donors evidently were foreigners. It is true, not much can be asserted in this respect as regards the Giridharpur inscription, but, as I have remarked above, it is not improbable that the donatrix is called there the daughter of a man who bears the Iranian name of Balāna. It is different with the Jaina inscription. Okhārikā, Ujhatikā, and Okhā are proved by their names to have been foreigners. Okhārikā and Okhā are presumably Greek names, but that would not preclude their bearers from being Iranians as we know that a strong predilection for Hellenistic culture was prevailing in the countries subject to the Parthian rule. May we then assume that there were Parthians at Mathurā who had immigrated during the rule of the Kshatrapas and who, although they were converted to the Jaina faith, upheld the traditions of their native country?

Perhaps also the curious spelling of some words in the record reflects the alterations which the Indian language had undergone in the mouth of these foreigners. *Ārahātvanā* for *arhantānaṁ* may be due to the carelessness of the engraver who mistook the *nta* of the original copy for *tva*, just as *vitu* certainly is a simple mistake for *dhitu*. But the constant spelling *sva* and *svā* for initial *sa* and *sā* in *svarva-*, *svarvachchara-*, *svate* (if this is meant for *sate*=*śate*), *svāvikā-*, and so on cannot be considered as a mere blunder of the engraver, but must have some foundation in pronunciation. The spelling *śī* for *si* in *śīdhanā* can be paralleled by the transition of *s* into *śś* before palatal vowels in the Śaka language; cf. *śśāra*, *śśāna*, *śśīya*. The insertion of *r* also which here appears in *svarvachchhara-* is frequent in Śaka in Indian loan-words such as *avaśśirshṭa*=*avaśishṭa*, *Armāhāya*=*Amitāyu*, etc.

MAIREYA IN PĀṆINI

By VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

Maireya was a kind of intoxicating drink used in ancient India. The word is unknown in the Brāhmana and Āraṇyaka literature, which suggests its introduction in the post-Vedic period. The Buddha, however, found the use of *maireya* so common that in order to rescue people from its baneful effects he prescribed an injunction against it. We are indebted to Pāṇini for raising an important discussion about the accentuation of the word *maireya*, and this has incidentally preserved some valuable facts about the nature of this drink.

In the sixth book of the Ashṭādhyāyī occurs the following sūtra:

अंगानि मैरेये (VI, 2, 70)

'The first syllable of the word preceding *maireya*, gets the acute, when it denotes the ingredient of the same.' It implies that the word *maireya* enters into a compound with word denoting its ingredients, and in such compounds the ingredient-denoting word is accented acute on the first syllable.

Leaving the particular grammatical point aside, we infer from the sūtra that Pāṇini had a knowledge of the ingredients (*aṅgāni*) of *maireya* liquor. It is not possible to understand the rule properly without having a knowledge of these constituents. Naturally therefore an enquiry into the mixing parts of this drink becomes our first objective.

The Arthaśāstra of Kautilya enumerates six varieties of liquor, viz., *medaka*, *prasannā*, *āsava*, *arishṭa*, *maireya* and *madhu* (*Arthaśāstra* Trans. p. 132). Fortunately for us the full recipe of *maireya* is also given there:

मेषशृंगीत्वक्-क्वाथाभिषुतो गुडप्रतीवापः पिप्पली-मरिचसम्भारस्त्रिफलायुक्तो वा मैरेयः।

[Arth. Text, p. 120.]

It means: Prepare a decoction of *meshaśṛiṅgī* bark, mix it with jaggery (गुड), and add the powder of long pepper (*pippalī*) and black pepper (*maricha*); to it the powder of *triphalā* may be added optionally,—this is the recipe of *maireya*.

In the above recipe मेषशृंगी, पिप्पली, मरिच and त्रिफला belong to one group and गुड to the other. Further light on this division is thrown

by the two illustrations given on Pāṇini's sūtra, अंगानि मैरेये. The Kāśikā writes:

गुडमैरेयः। मधुमैरेयः।

मद्यविशेषो मैरेयस्तस्य गुडविकारस्य गुडोऽङ्गं भवति, मधुनो मधु।

Both these examples refer only to the sweetening contents of *maireya*, be it either गुड or मधु, and obviously according to Pāṇini's intention as implied in the sūtra, the word अंगानि refers only to the sweetening ingredients and not to the *aushadhi* contents used in the preparation of *maireya*, such as *meshaśṛiṅgī*, etc. It may be inferred with propriety that the *aushadhi* contents of *maireya* must have remained somewhat constant, whereas the sweet contents could be changed from गुड to मधु or to शर्करा, etc. The naming of *maireya* would thus depend not on the invariable ingredients, but on the sweetening parts subject to change. For example the customer ordering his *maireya* drink from the master of the booth would not say मेषशृंगीमैरेय or त्रिफलामैरेय, but would express his desire for a variety in taste by ordering for गुडमैरेय, मधुमैरेय, शर्करामैरेय, फाणितमैरेय, or इक्षुरसमैरेय, etc.

The above varieties of मधुरवर्ग mixed with the decoction of the bark of *meshaśṛiṅgī* and other specified herbs, must have produced a correspondingly low or high quality of drink. Charaka tells us that *maireya* was primarily a *madhura* wine, a drink sweet in taste *par excellence*.[1] The choice of an inferior condiment like *guḍa* and *phāṇita*, or of a superior one like refined sugar made all the difference in the quality, taste and price of the *maireya* drink. The aristocratic customer in the tavern would order superior grade of wine, and in the case of *maireya* this emphasis would fall naturally on the first part of the compound, i.e., on the word denoting the sweetening constituent and hence the acute accent on it.

The Arthaśāstra mentions गुड as a mixture of *maireya* in the recipe quoted above. It agrees with the example गुडमैरेय of the Kāśikā. The other example मधुमैरेय, i.e., *maireya* prepared by mixing honey, lacks confirmation from the above statement in the Arthaśāstra. The question arises as to whether we are on good authority in assuming that other sweetening ingredients besides *guḍa* were also added to *maireya*.

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1 मैरेयो मधुरो गुरुः। चरक, सूत्रस्थान, अ० २७, मद्यवर्ग, श्लो० १८७।

The answer to this is in the affirmative. In the chapter relating to the duties of the Superintendent of Royal Storehouses, Kauṭilya gives directions for the storage of liquids tasting astringent (शुक्तवर्ग):

इक्षुरस-गुड-मधु-फाणित-जाम्बव-पनसानामन्यतमो मेषशृंगी-पिप्पली क्वाथाभिषुतो मासिकः षाण्मासिकः सांवत्सरिको वा चिर्भिटोर्वारुकेक्षुकाण्डाम्रफलामलकावसुतः शुद्धो वा शुक्तवर्गः ।

[Arth. Text, p. 94.]

'Mixture made by combining any one of the substances, such as the juice of sugar-cane, jaggery, honey, raw granulated sugar, the essence of the fruits of jambu and jack tree,—with the decoction of *meshaśṛiṅga* (a kind of plant) and of long pepper should be stocked. To this the addition of the following is optional, viz. *chirbhiṭa*, cucumber, sugar-cane, mango fruit and the fruit of myrobalam. This mixture should be either one month, or six months, or a year old.[1] This constitutes the *śukta-varga*.'

Although in this context Kauṭilya does not actually use the name *maireya* for the liquid recommended for stocking in the royal store-house, the recipe leaves no doubt that high class *maireya* was intended. The *aushadhi* contents are the same, viz. the decoction of *meshaśṛiṅgī* and *pippalī* (*maricha* is left out as of minor importance); in the optional group in place of *triphalā* alone, we have greater variety in आमलक, आम्रफल, उर्वारुक, इक्षुकांड, etc. In the enumeration of the sweet contents in place of गुड alone we have six varieties, of which मधु is also one. We can now understand the example मधुमैरेयः given in the Kāśikā on Pāṇini, VI, 2, 70, since मधु like गुड was an *aṅga* or constituent from which the particular variety of *maireya* derived its name, and we may also imagine that both गुडमैरेय and मधुमैरेय were legitimate, and for the matter of that ancient, illustrations to Pāṇini's rule.

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[1] I understand *māsika*, etc., not in the sense of 'to last for a month, or six months, or a year' but as so much old, since old wines were preferred.

A MISSING LINK

By E. J. THOMAS

The problem of the spread of folktales is one that has grown more complex with the increase of evidence. At one time it was thought possible to derive all folktales from India. This is not now so certain, although there can be no doubt of the Indian origin of a considerable number. But even when this is admitted, the most important question remains, by what route and what means did they come? In one case the answer is clear, that of the *Pañcatantra*. We know that some form of this work was taken to Persia in the time of the Sassanid King Khusrau Anushirwan (6th cent. A.D.) translated into Pahlavi, and then into Syriac and Arabic. Its passage into Europe was then easy.[1] But this gives a false simplicity to the problem, for it explains only the particular instance in which a literary channel can be proved. There are still many tales common to India and Europe, of which we are still quite ignorant about the channel of their transmission. Mere guesswork is useless. It is evidently idle to say that the Crusaders brought them unless we can show that they actually had the means of acquiring such tales. Another imposing illusion is to speak of 'the Arabs'. The Muslims with whom the Crusaders came into contact were chiefly Persians and Turks, even though in the earlier period Arabic was their chief language.

The purpose of this paper is to give an instance of a tale found in a late Buddhist work and to compare it with several similar tales found in Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries. I am not aware that the comparison has been made before, but other forms of it may be known, and it would be of great interest if they could be brought together, for they present the problem of transmission in a quite independent form. The Indian tale is found in a commentary to Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka*, a fragment of which has been edited and published by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstrī: [2]

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1 Silvestre de Sacy was the first to make a scientific study of *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* and its relation to the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*. See *Notices et Extraits*, Vol. 10, 1818. Later results are given in V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes relatifs aux Arabes*, Vol. 2, Liége, Leipzig, 1897.

2 *Catuḥśatikā* by Ārya Deva. Mem. of the As. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. 3, 1914. The editor attributes the commentary to Candrakīrti, and puts him in the 2nd century A.D. Winternitz with more probability puts him in the 7th.

A certain king was informed by his astrologer (*naimittika*) that a storm of rain would fall, and that anyone who should make use of the water would go mad. So the king had a well covered (from that rain) for his own use. Then all the people [1] made use of the water and became mad, and being all in the same state thought that they were sane and that the king was mad. Thereupon the king seeing how the matter stood drank of the water, not wishing that they should think him mad, lest they should mock him or destroy him. In the same way if there were only a single person who was subject to certain needs of nature (*mūtrī*), he would be avoided as a leper, but since all are in the same state, how can they have any notion of their impurity?

The closest parallel to this is in the *Facezie* of Arlotto. This is a collection of 'jests', humorous stories about a certain Arlotto, and first published at Florence in 1500. Arlotto appears to have been a real person who was parish priest (*pievano*) of a church near Florence in the 15th century. The jests told of him are not necessarily biographical, but like *Joe Miller's Jests* or the *Laṭā'if* of Naṣruddīn Khojah, anecdotes that have collected round anyone who has become famous through his wit. The tale now in question is one that he is said to have told on a certain occasion:

One day Arlotto was amusing himself with some good friends in a meadow, playing with sticks at tilting. Some distinguished Florentine citizens who happened to be taking a walk saw him, greeted him, and asked him what he was doing with the stick in his hand. The priest, who was ashamed at finding himself surprised in this state by such respectable people, replied, 'We have been eating and drinking together in this house, and perhaps we have had a glass because we were thirsty. Then it happened to me as it did to the ten great astrologers'. 'What was it that happened to them?' 'What? I will tell you. These great wise men foresaw by means of their art that there would be a storm of rain in their city, and the water would have such an evil smell that all who smelt it would lose their reason. So as soon as it began to rain they carefully shut all the doors and windows in order not to suffer from the smell. Now when the rain and the smell had gone my wise gentlemen came smartly out and thought that they alone would be lords of the land, as there was no man left in his senses. But this time they were mistaken, these wise gentlemen. As soon as the people, who had now gone quite mad, saw them, they ran up to them, and the wise men, whether they wanted it or not, had to play the fool like all the others, if they were to stay in the country. Otherwise they would have been driven away or even have lost their lives. That is how I have had to do now, and so I hope you will excuse me if you have seen me playing the fool.'

This is a story evidently older than Arlotto. Floegel in his *History of Court Fools* [2] says that it goes back to the troubadours, but I have not found the reference. However, at least three other forms of it are known, showing considerable variations, which seem

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1 Text has *sajanas*. The editor suggests *svajanas*. La Vallée Poussin with more probability reads *sarvajanas* (*Bull. School of Oriental Studies*, 1918).

2 *Geschichte der Hofnarren*, p. 482, Liegnitz, 1789.

to indicate that in Europe at least it passed from mouth to mouth. One of these is in an Italian poem [1] of the 15th century by Antonio Fregoso, who uses it as an introduction to his poem, and an excuse for the matter that is to follow:

I'll do as did a certain tavern-keeper,
Who in the courtyard of his inn possessed
A tank that had been built by magic art,
So that whoever bathed or drank therein
Forgot himself, and coming out a madman
Straightway performed a thousand brutish pranks.
Thus as the tale of lunatics increased,
And when the inmates all had lost their senses,
The only sane man was the taverner,
Who, I have heard, was foremost of the wise;
But tired of all their craziness he said,
What shall I do among so many madmen?
And as his last resource he made the choice
To bathe and drink, and then become insane,
And not be conscious of their tiresome folly.

Here the astrologers have disappeared, but the motive remains the same—the impossibility of a sane person living in a world of mad-men. There are still other forms of the tale, in which the moral has been changed. These are in a collection of tales made by a German Franciscan, Johannes Pauli, entitled *Schimpf und Ernst* (Jest and Earnest), and first published in 1520. Each tale is entitled either *Schimpf* or *Ernst*, No. 34 is a Schimpf, and is as follows:

Once upon a time it rained, and all those touched by the rain became children and fools, and indulged in childish play and foolery. It happened that a witty man went by and saw the old people, thus playing the fool, and he thought them all fools, and they thought him a fool too, and laughed at him and clapped their hands. He asked them how it was that they had become fools. The fools told him, and said that it had rained and that anyone on whom the rain had fallen must thus practise children's play and foolery. The wise man asked them if one could not find any of the rainwater. Then one of the fools said no. Then another fool said yes, there in a little hole is some of the same water. Then the wise man lay down and pushed his mouth into the hole and drank of it, and then put his hand in the hole and poured some water on his head and washed himself with it. And at once he became a fool and played the same foolery and childish play.

The other form of the tale (No. 54) is called *Ernst*:

There were some people in a house who sang and danced, for they had a well in the house, and whoever drank of the water had to dance with them. Many people came there to look, and they offered them the drink of honour. As soon as they had drunk they too began to dance. There was one there

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[1] Also given by Floegel, *loc. cit.*, pp. 482, 483; the original is in *terza rima*.

who was wise. He reproached them for thus singing and dancing, and he too went there and wanted to see what sort of people they were. He too was offered a drink, and as soon as he drank he began to sing and dance, and what he had blamed before he did himself.

Both these forms have undergone changes which we may suppose to be due to oral transmission,though the former still preserves the incident of the storm of rain. Both are altered in having the moral changed. While the earlier forms rather cynically show the uselessness of wisdom in a world of mad-men, the German forms teach the danger of too great curiosity and self-confidence in coming into contact with folly. The explanation is that the collection is modelled on the medieval collections of moral tales known as *exempla.* The exempla are short striking tales or fables intended to be used as examples in the medieval sermons. Some of the best known exempla are found in the sermons of Jacques de Vitry. This ecclesiastic was a Frenchman, and was bishop of Acre between 1216 and 1227. His sermons show that there were social relations between the Saracens and the Christians such as would have made the passage of eastern tales to a Christian community in connexion with the West quite possible. It is in this sense that we may speak of the Crusades as a possible channel for their transmission.

There is, however, in Jacques de Vitry no evidence of any direct transmission of eastern tales, so that his works do not give anything to support the theory that the Crusaders and their contact with the East explain the borrowings. This is besides not the only possibility, for others are suggested by a work very popular in the Middle Ages known as *Sidrach.*[1] The earliest known form of this is in French, and is as early at least as the 12th century. It consists of questions and answers on subjects supposed to embrace all the knowledge of the universe, but the immediate point of interest is the curious account which the book gives of its own origin. We are told that an ancient king Boctus had put a series of questions to the sage Sidrach, and Boctus was so pleased with the answers that he caused a book to be compiled to which he gave the name Sidrach. This may be a quite fanciful account, and the rest of it may not be historical, but it is all the more suggestive in what the author tells us, for it indicates what was known in the 12th century about possible routes from the East. He tells us that the book, after being handed down from king to king, came into the hands of the Archbishop of Sebaste (Samaria). It was taken to Spain, translated from Greek into Latin, then into the Saracen language, and then back into

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[1] There is a discussion of this work in C. V. Langlois, *La connaissance de la nature et du monde au moyen âge.* Paris, 1911.

Latin for the use of the Emperor Frederick II. Frederick's copy came into the hands of the patriarch of Antioch, from whom it was taken again to Toledo, translated once more into Latin, and finally into French. This, even if not exact history, shows what was known in the Middle Ages of possible communication with the Arabs. Spain really was a channel, for there was a school of Arabic culture at Toledo, where Arabic works were translated into Latin. That is one possible route, and another is shown in the mention of Frederick. It is well known that Frederick did acquire books from his Muslim friends and have them translated. Still another route is suggested by the mention of the patriarch of Antioch. This is the Antioch on the coast of Syria north of Acre, and it brings us back to the route implied in the sermons of Jacques de Vitry—direct contact of the Christians in Palestine with the Saracens during the period of the Crusades.

But all these possibilities show that it is still too early to think that the problem is solved by the vague suggestions made so far. Even in the case of the few instances where literary contact can be shown, we are far from being able to explain everything. The work *Kalilah wa Dimnah does* not correspond to any known form of the *Pañcatantra*. *Barlaam and Josaphat*, which shows the influence of Buddhism, cannot be explained from the *Lalita-vistara*, as it contains Indian tales not in the latter work, and the tale which I have here examined presents a quite open question. The real link is still missing.

PROTOTYPES (?) OF ŚIVA IN WESTERN ASIA

By H. C. Raychaudhuri
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Śiva shares with Vishṇu the homage of the vast majority of the Hindu population. The worship of the deity is, as is well known, traceable back to the early Vedic age. Archaeological evidence has been adduced by scholars, notably by Sir John Marshall, to prove that the cult of a divinity closely approximating to Śiva was already popular in the Indus valley in the third millennium B.C. Attention has been invited particularly to a Mohenjo-daro seal on which is portrayed a male god who is seemingly three-faced but may have had four faces. He is seated in the typical attitude of *Yoga* and has his lower limbs exposed, suggesting comparison with the *Ūrdhva-Meḍhra* form of Śiva. The deity has on either side a number of animals: a tiger and an elephant on his right and a buffalo and a rhinoceros on his left. Beneath the seat of the god are a couple of deer.[1]

There can be no doubt that the deity on the Mohenjo-daro seal has important points of resemblance with Śiva as depicted in Chapter 284 of the *Śānti Parva* and Chapters 14 and 17 of the *Anuśāsana Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*.[2] The epic describes the god both as *triśīrsha* (XII, 284, 12) or *trivaktra* (XIII, 14, 165) and as *chaturmukha* (XII, 284, 83; XIII, 17, 77). He is *Digvāsas* (*ibid.*, 14, 162) and *Ūrdhva Liṅga* (17, 46). He is further styled *Yogeśvara* (14, 328) and *Yogādhyaksha* (17, 77). Above all he is *Paśupati* (17, 79). Among animals brought into special relation with him are the tiger (cf. *Śārdūlarūpa*, 17, 48), the elephant (cf. *Vyālarūpa*, 17, 61) and the deer (cf. *Mṛigabāṇārpaṇa*, 17, 38). He is clad in a tiger's skin (*Vyāghrājina*, 14, 387), and has an elephant's skin as his upper garment (*Nāgacharmottarachchhada*, 14, 155). He is not only the elephant-killer (*Gajahā*, 17, 48) but also a buffalo-destroyer (*Mahishaghna*, 14, 313). Among his epithets is *Gaṇḍalin* (17, 91) which suggests a connection with *Gaṇḍa* (the rhinoceros?). *Gaṇḍīnī* is an appellation of his consort Durgā.

Striking as are the points of likeness between Śiva and the Mohenjo-daro deity it is to be noted that one of the most distinctive

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[1] *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, edited by Sir John Marshall, Vol. I, Ch. 5.
[2] Vaṅgavāsī edition.

epithets of the epic Śiva, viz. *Vṛishabha-vāha* (Anuśāsana, 14, 299) or *Vṛisha-vāhana* (14, 390), is not suggested by anything portrayed on the Mohenjo-daro seal mentioned above. In this and some other important respects the epic Śiva finds a closer parallel in a god worshipped by the ancient Hittites in Western Asia in the second millennium B.C. This deity is Teshub, the chief male member of the Hittite pantheon.[1] We have representations of the god at Malatia, in the sacred gallery at Boghaz Keui, in the Zinjerli Sculpture, in the monument at Isbekjür, on a stele at Babylon and also on coins at Hierapolis Syraiae. He stands on a bull and has the three-pronged thunderbolt as his distinctive weapon. He is also represented as bearing a bow, the trident and mace, battle-axe and dagger. His spouse is the great mother-goddess venerated as Mā in Cappadocia. She was worshipped under different names and forms in Anatolia and neighbouring lands.

The resemblance between Teshub as represented at the places named above, and Rudra-Śiva as described in Vedic, epic and Purāṇic texts, is too striking to be ignored. Like Teshub Rudra-Śiva wields the thunderbolt (*Rig Veda*, 2, 33, 3; *Mahābhārata*, XIII, 14, 288, 387, etc.), and is armed with a bow (cf. *dhanvī*, 17, 43; *Pinākin*, 14, 387), the trident (*Triśūla*, XII, 284, 12; *Śūla*, XIII, 14, 289 and 387), mace (*Daṇḍa*, *ibid.*, 387), battle-axe (cf. *Paraśvadhāyudha*, 17, 99), and *paṭṭiśa* (17, 43) which Nīlakaṇṭha explains as a kind of *Khaḍga* or sword.

Like Teshub again Śiva is *Ambikā-bhartā* (Mbh., III, 78, 57), spouse of the mother-goddess, who is referred to as Pārvatī (XIII, 14, 250), Devī (384) and Umā (427), the counterpart of the Cappadocian Mā. The consort of Teshub stands on a lioness or panther.[2] Similarly the consort of Śiva is in the Purāṇas *simhavāhinī* (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 82, 33). Certain forms of the great mother-goddess of the ancient peoples of Western Asia, such as Nanaia and Artemis, had the bee for their symbol.[3] Representations of these deities with the bee were to be found at Ephesus and Susa. Curiously enough the Indian mother-goddess receives in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (91, 49) and the *Devī-Bhāgavata* (Bk. 10, 13) the epithet *Bhrāmarī*. In this form the goddess had killed an *Asura* named *Aruṇa* for the good of the world (Mārk. 92, 48). Does the story imply hostility to rival cults of Assyria or Irān ?

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[1] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James Hastings, Vol. VI, pp. 724ff.; *Universal History*, Vol. 2, pp. 723, 727, 737.

[2] ERE, Hastings, Vol. VI, p. 725; *Universal History*, 2, 719, 723, 737.

[3] Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 6, 29. For the association of Artemis with lions, see also ERE., XII, 139-140.

While certain aspects of Rudra-Śiva and his consort, mainly detailed in the epic and the Purāṇas, recall the Hittite Teshub, other features, which may claim a prior date, remind one of Nergal, the Sumerian deity, to whom the following hymn is addressed:[1]

O Lord, enter not into the tavern,
nor slay the old woman sitting at the ale-bench.
O Lord, enter not into the council-chamber,
nor smite the wise elder who is sitting there.
O Lord, stand not in the playground,
nor drive the little ones away from the playground.
Enter not into the place where the music of the harp resounds,
nor drive away the youth who understands the music of the harp.

The prayer quoted above cannot fail to recall the *Śatarudrīya* Litany of the *Yajur Veda*:

Do thou no injury to great or small of us, harm not the growing boy, harm not the full-grown man.
Slay not a sire among us, slay no mother here, and to our own dear bodies, Rudra! do no harm.

Harm us not in our seed or in our progeny, harm us not in our life or in our cows or steeds.
Slay not our heroes in the fury of their wrath. We with oblations ever call on only thee.[2]

The writer of these lines is conscious of the fact that the grand concept of Śiva in the Hindu sacred texts cannot be explained simply by a reference to a number of Sumerian, Hittite and Mohenjo-daro deities. His aim is to invite the attention of scholars to certain common features in the religious beliefs of the ancient peoples of Anatolia, Mesopotamia and India which may serve to elucidate certain points in the history of those mythological beliefs that came to be associated with the worship of Śiva and the great Devī in the Vedic, epic, and Purāṇic ages.

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[1] Carleton, *Buried Empires*, 204.

[2] *The Texts of the White Yajurveda* translated by Ralph T. H. Griffith, p. 141. Beltis-Allat or Erishkigal, spouse of Nergal, is associated with lions like Artemis and the consort of Śiva. Cf. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 692. Nergal himself was represented by a lion, ERE, XII, 149. It may be remembered in this connection that in the *Anuśāsanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* Śiva is *Simha-śārdūla rūpa* (17, 48).

A NEW CHARSADDA INSCRIPTION

By Sten Konow

In the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIV, pp. 8ff., the late N. G. Majumdar published a Kharoṣṭhī inscription on a relic casket found in an ancient mound at Kulaḍherī near Charsadda, which seems to me to be of such importance that I feel justified in offering some remarks on it as an homage to my old associate in the Archæological Survey, Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, the more so because I cannot always accept the reading and interpretation of the lamented editor.

It is a difficult record and I am not able to give a satisfactory interpretation of every detail. I shall not, however, enter into a discussion of all the difficulties, but only try to justify my reading and translation where I differ from Majumdar, and to point to some features which seem to me to be of considerable importance.

The date portion *sabatśa*[1] *III 100 III* 'anno 303' is absolutely certain. The ensuing word cannot be read as *etaketamite,* which would, besides, be an absolutely impossible form. The only difficult akṣara is the third, which is probably *ka,* not *ke,* but might be *śpa.* I read *harakaramire* and take this to be a personal name. Then Majumdar read *tu dona,* remarking that 'the final *na* was omitted at first and added later above the line', taking *dona* to correspond to Skt. *droṇa* and to mean 'reliquary'. I do not know how he arrived at this translation. *Droṇa* means a *wooden* vessel, and could hardly be used about a stone casket. It can also mean a certain measure of capacity, and in Pali we have *doṇadhātu* 'a droṇa of relics'. We might therefore take *dona* to be short for *doṇadhātu* or *doṇaśarīra.* I think that we must accept this explanation, though we would expect *drona.* The final *na* looks more like *ve,* but it may be *na.* As seems to be the case in the Swāt relic casket inscription, *na* would then stand for *ṇa* and *na* for *na.*

With regard to the following *stapapema* (not *sthapapema*) Majumdar aptly compares Pali *ṭhapāpeti.* There is, however, a short stroke across the top of *pa,* so that it was perhaps meant to be cancelled.

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[1] With regard to the reading of the final compound as *tś* or *ts* I shall, in this place, limit myself to remarking that the question can hardly be solved without taking notice of the Khotan Saka compound *ts,* which certainly had the phonetical value *tś.*

The next akṣara can hardly be *se*, but is almost certainly *ca*, cf. the *ca* of *praca* (or rather *prace*) *budhaṇa* (l. 3) and the *ca* of the Zeda inscription. We accordingly have a second verb *cayema* which must belong to Skt. *cāyayati* 'heaps up, erects'. Majumdar then read *ṇaviga Vesa* 'the novice Vesa'. But where do we find *ṇaviga* in that sense, and how could we possibly explain such a name as *Vesa*, with its *s*, in our dialect? Did Majumdar think of Avestan *vaēsa* 'house servant'? After *Vesa* he read *Śaravaraṇasi* taking this to be the locative of a local name. But the locative of *a*-bases ends in *ami*, as shown by *Avaśaürami* (l. 2), and perhaps also in *e*, *i* as in Hashtnagar. I take *ṇavi gave* to be such locatives and then read *saśarava* 'with a lid'. I cannot explain *gava*, unless it is the Saka word *gava*, for which Bailey, BSOS viii, p. 923, l. 1, assumes the meaning 'cell'.

Then I follow Majumdar's reading *raṇasi sathubao sagharamu pradiṭhaveti*, taking *raṇasi* to represent *Raṇasīha* or *Raṇasiṃha* and to be the subject of *pradiṭhaveti*. I also accept his reading of the ensuing part of the record, only reading *prace* for his *praca* in l. 3.

I accordingly read and translate as follows:—

(l. 1) sabatśa III 100 III Harakaramire *tu dona* stapapema (*or* stapema) cayema *ṇavi gave* saśarava Raṇasi sathubao sagharamu pradiṭhaveti

(l. 2) Avaśaürami madapidu puya[e*] sarvabudhaṇa puyae sarva-

(l. 3) prace[ga*] budhaṇa puyae sarvarahataṇa puya[e*]

(l. 4) putradarasa puyae mitrañadisalohidaṇa puya[e*] maharayasa gramas[v]amisa Avakhajhadasa puyae kṣatravasa.

'anno 303. We Harakaramira put up and erect this relic in a new *gava*, with a lid. Raṇasiṃha establishes a Saṅghārāma, with a Stūpa, in Avaśaüra, in honour of mother and father, in honour of all Buddhas, in honour of all Pratyekabuddhas, in honour of all Arhats, in honour of children and wife, in honour of the Mahārāja's village-lord (?), the son of Avakhā, the kṣatrapa.'

I am not at all satisfied with my analysis of the record. The object of the present paper is not, however, to give a final reading and translation, but to draw attention to certain features of a more general nature.

It seems to me that there is a somewhat close relationship between the casket legend and the Mathurā Brāhmī inscription of the year 299 thus discussed by Professor Lüders in this volume.

The dates, 299 and 303, respectively, would be quite near to each other if we were justified in referring both to one and the same era, and I think that we must actually do so. Professor Lüders has shown that the Mathurā inscription is dated in the Parthian era of 248 B.C. and consequently belongs to A.D. 51 or 52. Palæographically there is no objection to ascribing a similar date to the new Charsadda record. It is not, of course, quite safe to compare a casket epigraph with a stone inscription. Still the identity of the compound akṣara *tś* with that of the Pājā inscription of the year 111 is so striking that it seems impossible to assume a long interval between the two records. The era used in Pājā is clearly the same as in Takht-i-Bāhī, and there now seems to be a consensus of opinion to the effect that it coincides with the Vikrama reckoning, so that the Pājā date would correspond to 53 A.D. The Charsadda date, calculated according to the Parthian era, would correspond to c. 55 A.D. The use of the two forms, with and without the loop, of the compound *rv* also points to a date earlier than the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions. The closest palæographical parallels are to be found on the Bimaran casket, cf. especially the broken left hand bar of *ya* and the shape of *sa*.

There are also other details which point to identity of the eras used in the Mathurā Brāhmī inscription and the new Kharoṣṭhī epigraph. The former speaks of a *mahārāja rājātirāja* without mentioning any personal name, and Professor Lüders has shown good reasons for assuming that only the Parthian emperor can be intended. In the new epigraph we, in a similar way, read of an unnamed *maharaya*. The use of the lower title seems natural in a locality near the dominion of the Suren.

Then we have the curious names *Okhā* in the Mathurā inscription and *Avakhajhada* in Charsadda. *Okhā* cannot be an Indian or an Iranian name, and there can hardly be any doubt that Professor Lüders is right in explaining it as Greek *Eukhē*. If we bear in mind how Hellenized the Parthian nobles became, we cannot wonder at a Parthian lady wearing a Greek name. With regard to *Avakhajhada* it can hardly be doubted that the word is a compound of *Avakhā* and *jhada*, and that *jhada* is the Iranian participle corresponding to Skt. *jāta*, cf. Avestan *zāta*, Khotanese *ysāta*, i.e. *zāda*, etc. *Avakhajhada* is consequently the son of *Avakha* or *Avakhā*. This latter name is just as inexplicable from Indian or Iranian sources as *Okhā*, but it can easily be seen that *Avakhā* is a natural rendering of the Greek name *Eukhē*, which is, as we have seen, the source of the name *Okhā*. It is a rare name in Indian inscriptions, and it is *a priori* not unlikely that the Okhā of the Mathurā inscription is the same person as the Avakhā whose son is mentioned in the

Charsadda casket. The people who set up the Jaina image in Mathurā in the year 299 cannot have been citizens of Mathurā, but must have come from the North-West, where the Parthian emperor was the supreme ruler.

This identification of Okhā and Avakhā cannot, of course, be proved. There is, however, one small feature which speaks in its favour. Okhā is characterized as *svāvikābhaginī* which Professor Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions No. 78, translated 'lay-sister', evidently analysing it as *śrāvikābhaginī*. The term 'lay-sister' sounds European and not Indian to me, and I think that it is much more likely that *svāvikā* represents Skt. *svāmika*, Pali *sāmika* 'master, lord'. It should be borne in mind that the *-m-* of *svāmin* is usually changed in Indo-Aryan vernaculars, especially in the compound *gosvāmin*, Hindī *gosāī̃*, Marāṭhī, *gosāvī*, but also elsewhere, cf. Hindī *sāī̃* 'master', Kāśmīrī *sāwĕñ*[u] 'lady'. In that case Okhā would be the sister of the *svāmika* 'the master'.

Now Avakhajhada, the son of Avakhā, is styled *gramasvami* and *kṣatrava*, and *gramasvami*, whatever the exact charge was which it denotes, reminds us of the *svāvikā*, i.e. *svāmika*, who was the brother of Okhā. *Svāmika* may be short for *grāmasvāmika*, and, at all events, it is possible to assume that the person who was *svāmika* in the year 299 had been succeeded by his sister's son in 303.

It seems to me that there are enough indications of a somewhat intimate connection between the Mathurā and Charsadda inscriptions to justify us in drawing the inference that one and the same era, viz. the Parthian, was used in both. And, as we have already seen, there is no palæographic reason for assigning them to different periods.

If we have, then, a Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Charsadda dated in the fourth century of an era which we have reason for identifying with the Parthian, it becomes necessary, I think, to apply the same reckoning to some other records from the same neighbourhood, likewise dated in the fourth century of an unspecified era, viz. the Loriyān Tangai image inscription of the 27th Proṣṭhapada 318, the Hashtnagar pedestal legend of the 5th Proṣṭhapada 384, and the Skārah Ḍherī statue epigraph of 22nd Āṣāḍha 399.

In his monumental book L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, T. II, p. 490, Professor Foucher says that there cannot, with reference to these dated Gandhāra sculptors, be the question of more than two eras, the Seleucidan or the Mauryan, and he decides in favour of the latter. I quite accept his view that the Seleucidan reckoning, which is quite in its proper place in an official piece such as the

much discussed coin of Plato,[1] would be little appropriate in the case of a private *ex-voto.* But, in spite of all the ingenuity brought into play in this connection it has not proved possible to point to a single certain trace of the existence of a Mauryan era in India. My own attempt, in the edition of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in the Corpus, to start from an old Saka era was based on a foundation which the discovery of the Kalawān inscription has proved to have been wrong. Moreover, in the years about the beginning of the Christian era the Parthians had replaced the Sakas as rulers of North-western India. After that event we have only one isolated case of the survival of the old Saka era, whose epoch we are now better qualified to decide than when I published the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. It is, therefore, *a priori* likely that the Parthian era, in addition to the current local reckoning, might be used in image inscriptions in those regions where the Parthians held sway, and the details drawn attention to above seem to me to prove that that era was actually used in that neighbourhood.

The dates of the three Gandhāra sculptures mentioned above would accordingly correspond to c. 70, 136 and 150 A.D., respectively.

This result cannot be without importance for our attitude to the question about the history of the Greco-Indian art of Gandhāra.

It would be of little use to try to summarize all the different views put forward by various scholars. It must suffice to mention such sculptures as are dated or datable with certainty. Among those I do not reckon the assumed Buddha figure on some coins of Maues, because the leading numismatists do not think it is a Buddha at all. In addition to the three sculptures mentioned above, which we can now with some confidence date, Loriyān Tangai c. A.D. 70, Hashtnagar c. 136 and Skārah Ḍherī c. 150, we have the good sculptures found with the Kalawān inscription of the year 134, i.e. A.D. 77, together with inferior pieces, and the Mamāne Ḍherī sculpture of the year 89 of the Kaniṣka era, i.e. according to my reckoning A.D. 216 and according to the orthodox theory 50 years earlier.

There is no piece of Gandhāra art which can, with certainty or with probability, be carried back to the time of the old Greek rulers or to the ancient Saka dynasty. We cannot go further back than to the Parthian period, towards the end of which we find

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[1] Dr. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, pp. 400ff., maintains that Plato belonged to the party of Eucratides, who tried, and tried in vain, to re-establish the suzerainty of the Seleucids over the house of Demetrius. His use of the Seleucidan era cannot, accordingly, be urged in favour of assuming the use of that reckoning in Loriyān Tangai, etc.

excellent sculptures, partly side by side with inferior ones. The art of the Kuṣāṇa period and later does not interest us in the present connection.

In such circumstances it seems to me that the known chronological data are in thorough agreement with Sir John Marshall's view as summarized in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1930–34, p. 151: 'So far as the art of Taxila is concerned, we can now safely say that for the first three or four centuries after Christ it owed its character to this influx of western ideas for which the Parthians were responsible. Of the beginnings of the Gandhāra School we cannot speak with such complete assurance because that school took shape not at Taxila itself, but somewhere beyond the N.-W. Frontier—probably in the region of Swāt—where the sculptors could obtain the phyllite and other schist stones which they used for their work. The evidence, however, available at Taxila points clearly to the conclusion that the inception of this school also took place during the rule of the Parthians in the North-West and was mainly due to their Hellenistic tendencies.'

GUHILOT ORIGINS

By G. C. Raychaudhuri

The princes of Mewār justly claim a long and illustrious ancestry. The dynasty is already found to be firmly established about the middle of the seventh century of the Christian era. Thirteen centuries have rolled away and the rulership of Mewār still remains in the same family, tiding over many a storm and stress, defying the kaleidoscopic changes that have been wrought on the fair face of Hind. It is not at all surprising that in course of these long centuries the early history of the Guhilots or the story of their real origin would be lost in a haze of romantic myths. An attempt is made in the present article to give a historical analysis of the various traditions regarding the ancestry of the Rāṇās' family.

The modern descendants of Guhila regard themselves as Kshatriyas of the Solar race and trace their origin to the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The claim is put forward by panegyrists, annalists and historians who flourished centuries ago. An examination of some early records of the dynasty however suggested to certain scholars that the family was of pure Brahmin extraction. About half a century ago the late Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indraji observed,[1] 'The Rājput use of a Brāhman gotra is generally considered a technical affiliation, a mark of respect for some Brāhman teacher. It seems doubtful whether the practice is not a reminiscence of an ancestral Brāhman strain. This view finds confirmation in the Aitpur (*sic*) inscription which states that Guhadit, the founder of the Gohil tribe, was of Brāhman race, *Vipra-kula*.' In 1909 Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar contributed an article on the 'Guhilots' to the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The learned scholar also arrived at the conclusion that the Guhilots were originally Brahmins.

It must be admitted that the view that *some* of the remote ancestors of the Rāṇā *claimed* to belong to the sacerdotal order is based upon unambiguous evidence. In the Āṭpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra, dated 1034 V.S. (977 A.D.), Guhadatta, the originator of the family (*prabhavaḥ Srī-Guhila-vaṁśasya*), receives the epithets *Viprakulānandanaḥ, mahīdevaḥ*. In the Chitorgaḍh Inscription of 1331 V.S. (1274 A.D.) Bappa is called a *vipra* and the Achaleśvara Inscription of 1342 V.S. (1285 A.D.) tells us that he exchanged

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[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. I. 98n.

brāhma (priestly or holy) for *kshātra* (kingly or military) splendour.[1] The same hero is described as a *dvijapuṅgavaḥ* (foremost among the twice-born) in the *Rasikapriyā* of Rāṇā Kumbhā. In the *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya,* Vijayāditya, a traditional ancestor of Guhadatta, is styled *mahīdevaḥ* and *vipraḥ*. Writing in the latter half of the sixteenth century Abul Faẓl observed, 'As a Brahmin at the beginning of their history nurtured their house, they are accounted as belonging to this caste'.[2] In the following century Mūhaṇota Nèṇa Sī states that 'A Brāhmaṇa is the first cause of extraction (of the Guhilot), but (we) regard (him) as a kshatriya.'[3] The priestly function once exercised by the ancestors of the Rāṇā survived till recent times. We are told by Tod that 'the Rāṇā of Mewār mingles spiritual duties with those of royalty, and when he attends the temple of the tutelary deities of his race he performs himself all the offices of the high priest for the day. The Rāṇā is called Ekaliṅga kā Dewān.'[4]

The theory that the ancestors of the Rāṇā were Brahmins has not, however, commended itself to some recent writers. Pandit G. H. Ojha objected to it on the following grounds and Mr. C. V. Vaidya agreed with him.[5]

A gold coin has been discovered on which Ojhaji reads the legend Śri Voppa and finds among other things the symbol of the Sun. He attributes the coin to Bappa of the Guhila dynasty and says that the Sun indicates the Solar origin of the family. The reading of the legend and the interpretation of the symbol are however dubious. Moreover the fact that the coin is made of gold, a metal not known to be used by the family in the particular locality, raises strong suspicion as to its genuineness.[6]

His second argument is that in the Eklingji Inscription of the time of Naravāhana, dated 1028 V.S. (971 A.D.), some sages of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata sect have been described as *Raghuvaṁśakīrti-piśunāḥ,* displaying the fame of the family of Raghu, that is of the Guhilot kings mentioned in it. In other words the kings of the Guhila dynasty belonged to the race of Raghu, and were Kshatriyas of Solar origin. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar edited this inscription in

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[1] *Hārītāt-kila Bappako-ṁhri(ghri)-valaya-vyājena lebhe mahaḥ*
Kshātraṁ dhātrinibhād-vitīrya munaye brāhmaṁ sva-sevā-chhalāt

[2] *Āin-i-Ākbarī,* II, 269.

[3] *Ādamūla utapatti brahma pīṇa khatri jāṇām.*

[4] *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān,* Vol. I, Published by Abalakanta Sen, p. 25n.

[5] Ojha, *History of Rajputana,* Vol. I, pp. 378ff, 414f. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval India,* Vol. II, pp. 332f.

[6] Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India,* Vol. II, p. 1167n.

the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1] and gave the following reading of the passage in question:—

Yoginaḥ । *Śāpānugrahabhūmayo Himaśilāvandhojjvalādāgire-rāseto Raghuvaṁśakīrtipiśunātrivraṁ tapah*....................

From the above quotation it appears that the phrase *Raghu-vaṁśakīrtipiśunāt* ends in the fifth case-ending and qualifies the word *āseto*. The learned editor suggests the emendation *piśunāstīvraṁ* for *pisunattrivraṁ*, which has also been accepted by Ojha and Vaidya. Thus the phrase in question is made to qualify the word *yoginaḥ*. The epigraph under discussion was also published in Peterson's *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions* [2] where we get the reading *Raghuvaṁśakīrtipiśunāttīvraṁ* instead of *Raghuvaṁśakīrtipiśunātriv-raṁ*, that is, the word ends in the fifth case-ending and qualifies the word *āseto*. There can hardly be any doubt that the reading given in the *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions* is the correct one. Indeed those who want to connect the phrase with the sages referred to in the inscription would do scant justice to the poetic sense of its author. The obvious reference is not to the fame of Guhila kings, but to the bridge in the south associated with the story of Śrī Rāmachandra of the Raghu family, and we have here only an instance of the conventional way of referring to the northern (Himālaya) and southern (Adam's Bridge) limits of India. In this connection attention may be drawn to the following parallel passage of an inscription of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal [3] :—

Ā-Gaṅgāgama-mahitāt sapatnaśūnyā
māsetoḥ prathita Daśāsyaketu kīrteḥ.

The third argument of Pandit Ojha is that in the Āṭpur inscription of Śaktikumāra, dated 1034 V.S. (977 A.D.), Naravāhana has been described as *kshatrakshetraṁ*, i.e. *Kshatriyokā kshetra* or *Kshatriyo kā utpattisthāna*, originator of the Kshatriyas. This particular interpretation may not be acceptable to all, and it is doubtful whether it well suits the context. The expression may simply mean 'repository (*Kshetra*) of dominion or martial prowess (*Kshatra*)'. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the Chitorgaḍh Inscription of 1331 V.S. (1274 A.D.) Ambāprasāda, great-grandson of Naravāhana, is called a *destroyer* of the Kshatriyas like (the Brāhmaṇa Paraśurāma) the Lord of the Bhṛigu family, *Bhṛigupatirivadṛiptaḥ Kshatrasaṁhārakārī.*

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[1] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 166f.
[2] *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 70.
[3] *Gauḍa Lekhamāla*, p. 38. My attention to this passage was drawn by Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri.

It would appear from the above survey that a claim to Brahminhood was set up by Guhilot princes from the time of Śaktikumāra, i.e. the tenth century, at the latest and persisted till a late period. Yet it would perhaps not be correct to suppose that even in these early times the Guhilots regarded themselves as Brahmins pure and simple. Princes of the race took as their consorts ladies belonging to clans which ranked as *Kshatriya*. Mahālakshmī, the queen of Bhatṛipaṭṭa II, was born in the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. Naravāhana's wife was the daughter of the Chāhamāna king Jejaya. Guhila, the grandfather of Bālāditya of the Chātsu Inscription, had matrimonial connections with the Paramāras, while Bālāditya himself married Raṭṭavā, daughter of the Chāhamāna king Śivarāja. That some sort of a claim (at any rate a partial claim) to Kshatriya lineage (*anvaya*) is at least as old as the earliest reference to the Brahmin extraction is clear from the Chātsu Inscription (tenth century A.D.). Bhatṛipaṭṭa, the earliest prince mentioned in it, is styled *Brahmakshatrānvita*, which may mean that he was 'linked' to the *Brahmakshatra* family. Rāma (Paraśurāma) to whom he is compared not only took to arms like a Kshatriya but had actually in his veins the blood of the royal race of Kuśika. It is difficult to say which claim may be said to enjoy priority. The earliest records of the family, notably those of the seventh century, do not throw any light on the matter.

One fact is however certain. As yet the Guhilots, unlike the Pratihāras, did not lay any claim to be descendants of Raghu. As late as the Chitorgaḍh Inscription of 1335 V.S. (1278 A.D.) Guhilaputra Siṁha is simply styled a Kshatriya. The coming of the Sisodiyā branch to the throne ushered in a glorious period of the History of Mewār. Military success abroad added to the social prestige of her rulers. But even in the Śṛingī Ṛishi Inscription of 1485 V.S. (1428 A.D.) Kshetrasiṁha is described only as a *Kshatriyavaṁśamaṇḍanamaṇi*, the jewel adorning the Kshatriya race. The Solar lineage is not specifically mentioned in extant records till the time of Mokala. In a fragmentary inscription of his time it is stated that Guhila, the 'head of the princes', belonged to the *Saptāśvavaṁśa* (i.e. the Solar line)[1]. Court poets of the middle ages apparently sought to affiliate the Guhilot dynasty with the famous ruling houses of the Epics. The author of the *Khummāṇa-Rāso* connects the genealogy of the Rāṇā with Rāmachandra, while the Rājasamudra Mahākāvya traces the descent of the family from Manu and Ikshvāku.

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[1] *Annual Report of the Rājputāna Museum*, Ajmer, for the year 1931-32, p. 4.

In the Naḍlāi Inscription of the time of Rāyamalla a Guhilot prince receives the epithet *Mṛigāṅkavaṁśadyotakāraka.*[1] Attention to the passage was first invited by Prof. Raychaudhuri. *Mṛigāṅka-vaṁśa* may imply extraction from the Lunar race. It may no doubt be urged that *Mṛigāṅka* means not only the Moon but was also a *biruda* of Mokala. In the Kumbhalgaḍh Inscription of 1517 V.S. (1460 A.D.) he has been described as *Mahārājādhirāja-Mahārāṇā-Śrī-Mṛigāṅka-Mokalendra.*[2] Mṛigāṅkavaṁśa may therefore simply refer to the family of Mokala. But the Lunar connection seems to be hinted at even in the Chātsu Inscription. As has been already noted Bhatṛipaṭṭa of the Chātsu branch is styled *Brahma-kshatrānvita.* In some of the *Purāṇas* the Paurava family (of the Lunar race) is described as the source of the *Brahmakshatras,*

'Brahmakshatrasya yo yonirvaṁśo devarshisatkṛitaḥ.'

Have we here a covert reference to the claim that the Guhilots belonged to the Paurava family? In the seventeenth century Sir Thomas Roe, Bernier, and some other European travellers tell us that the Rāṇā claimed descent from Puru, identified with the famous opponent of Alexander.[3] This statement hints at a tradition which connects the Guhilots with the famous Paurava family which was of 'Lunar' origin.

Curiously enough Abul Faẓl and the author of the Māsūr-ul-'Omra mention a tradition which traces the descent of the Rāṇā from 'Noshirwān', the Just of Persia.[4] In view of an undoubted reference to a Hūṇa princess among the ancestresses of the rulers of Mewār[5] the possibility of some connection with families hailing from Irān cannot be entirely precluded. It is equally possible that the connection sought with Noshirwān (Anushīrvan) is the result of the same tendency towards establishing relationship with famous heroes of old which led the court bards and others to represent the Rāṇā as a scion of the illustrious lines of Ikshvāku and Puru.

In traditions recorded by Tod the founder of the Guhila family is made a descendant of the last Maitraka of Valabhi. Recent researches have proved this to be improbable. The chronological difficulties are insuperable. The question naturally arises how did this story originate? In the Naḍlāi Inscription of the time of Rāya-malla we are told that Guhila, Bappa and some other illustrious

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1 *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, p. 141.
2 *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 284.
3 Roe, *Embassy* (Hakluyat Society) Vol. I, p. 102; *Bernier's Travels* (Constable and Smith), p. 208.
4 Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthān, Vol. I, p. 187.
5 Cf. the Āṭpur Inscription of 1034 V.S.

ancestors of the Rāṇā were born in the family of Śīlāditya of the Solar race. It is not possible to identify this Śīlāditya, but it seems that this gave a start to the so-called Valabhi theory regarding the origin of the Guhilots. It may be remembered in this connection that the Maitraka family had not only a Guhasena but as many as seven Śīlādityas. The Guhila family of Mewār was however actually founded long *before* the passing away of the Maitrakas.

In conclusion we may note that the *Vipra* origin of the Guhilots cannot be traced further back than the tenth century A.D. As the Guhilots were already ruling over parts of Mewār for about three centuries before that time it would perhaps be rash to assert that the claim to Brahminhood must be implied in the case of the earliest rulers. The Guhila princes of the seventh century put forward no such claim. The family is simply referred to in the Nāgdā Inscription of Aparājita, dated 718 V.S. (661 A.D.) as *Guhilānvaya.* The Chātsu Inscription proves that even in the tenth century the princes were not simply *Vipra* or *Mahīdeva* but *Brahmakshatrānvita* which, as already stated, may imply some sort of claim to at least a partial Kshatriya extraction and probable connection with the Lunar race which is described in the Purāṇas as *Brahmakshatrasya yo yonir-vamśaḥ.* If the Solar origin is suspect, the *Pure* undiluted Brahmin origin is not less so. It had no currency in the seventh century and obtained vogue only in certain localities, and not in others, in the tenth century. It is interesting to note that similar claims to Brahmin connection were laid by the Pratihāras, the Chāhamāṇas and probably also the Paramāras.[1]

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[1] Cf. Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka, dated 894 V.S.; Bijolia Rock Inscription of Chāhamāṇa Someśvara, dated 1226 V.S. and the *Piṅgala sutravṛitti,* where Paramāra Muñja has been described as a *Brahmakshatra* (Ojha, *History of Rajputana,* p. 66).

VASU UPARICHARA AND ANIMAL SACRIFICE

By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar

King Uparicharavasu is a well-known character in the Mahābhārata. His name figures particularly in connection with the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata where he has to play an important part in the dispute as to the character of the victim to be offered in sacrifices between the Brahmans led by Brihaspati on the one side and the Devas, receivers of the *havis*, on the other. The term *aja* used to describe the victim is capable of interpretation either as a goat or as a grain indifferently; the sacrifice to be offered therefore meaning either a goat, if the interpretation by the Devas is correct, and wheat or barley if the grain interpretation is accepted. In respect of this matter, a recent publication by the Oxford University Press of an Analysis and Index of the Mahābhārata by the Rev. E. P. Rice of the London Mission, reverses the position by making king Uparicharavasu's award as having been in favour of grain offerings as against animal sacrifice demanded by the Brahmans led by Bṛhaspati. This is noted on page 65 of the work, giving an analysis of the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata under Chapter 337 beginning with verse 12,818. This chapter actually corresponds to Book XII, Chapter 345 of the Kumbhakonam edition of the Mahābhārata, where it is clearly stated that King Vasu, then in the position of having been raised to the heaven of Indra as a result of the performance of the required number of sacrifices, gave the award in favour of animal sacrifices to propitiate the Dēvas. This is clearly stated in *śloka* 15 of the chapter, and the following ślokas indicate clearly that Vasu's award was in favour of an animal victim. I made enquiries in regard to the actual character of the text from the available manuscripts to determine whether the Kumbhakonam edition, which might be held to incorporate the Southern recension, receives support from manuscripts of other important localities. Dr. Sukthankar of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, wrote to intimate that the manuscripts in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute in the Mahābhārata Office supported the reading of the Kumbhakonam edition. So did Dr. S. K. De of the Dacca University, and, as far as I have been able to ascertain by writing to Pandit Vidushekara Bhattacharya and others, the Bengal manuscripts available at present seem to support the same contention. Mr. Rice however says that, in the preparation of the summary and analysis of the contents of the Mahābhārata which finds publication

in the book, he was dependent on the edition of Manmathanath Dutt in Sanskrit printed at Calcutta and his translation. But he seems to have made the Editio Princeps, as he calls it, as his main authority. His statement therefore on page 65 must be held to rest upon the authority of these manuscripts. The important point to decide is whether it was the Brahmans that held out for an animal victim really. It seems extremely unlikely as the episode is brought in the introduction to the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata which deals with the Pāncharātra, one of the principal tenets of which is *ahimsa*; the whole of the *Pāncharātrāic* teaching in fact seems more or less to be definitely against the Vedic sacrifices as they are ordinarily understood. Another point of the incident is that he was regarded as of such high standing as a devotee of Vishṇu, or a typical *Pāncharātrin* that the Devas (including Vishṇu) appearing in the *Yagñya* to receive their share of the oblation were visible to him offering the oblations, but not to his priest, Brihaspati, a descendant of the family of Angiras, and among the prominent teachers of Pāncharātra having received it hereditarily from the sun downwards. The matter does require final settlement in regard to the actual reading as being of great value to the determination of the relative weight of manuscript evidence of the different regions, such as in this case, between Bengal and the other divisions of India.

Uparicharavasu is a great character among the Pāncharātra temple-worshipping Vaishṇavas, and his name is associated with one or two very important shrines in South India, and specifically in reference to this particular incident of his award, and of Brihaspati's curse in consequence which brought him from heaven down towards the nether world.

TRAVANCORE'S ANCIENT CAPITAL: PADMANĀBHAPURAM

By R. V. PODUVAL, *Travancore*

The ancient capital of Travancore was Padmanābhapuram which was the seat of Government previous to its transfer to Trivandrum in 1750 A.D. The place is situated 33 miles south of Trivandrum and is noted for its old palace and temples in which relics of much antiquity having great historical and archaeological importance have been recently discovered. All the structures within the palace compound are built on the traditional lines of Malabar architecture with pointed gables, dormer-windows and long corridors. The earliest of the palaces was built about 1335 A.D.

In the 'Cātaka Sandēśa',[1] a Sanskrit poem composed about the middle of the 18th century, there are about half a dozen stanzas

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[1] (*a*) अस्ति प्राच्यां दिशि खलु ततः पद्मनाभालयाख्यम्
सह्यप्रस्थे सकलविभवैः पूरितं राजवेश्म ।
यस्मिन् वासः किल सुमहतीं प्रीतिमस्य प्रसूते
यत् प्रासादप्रवरवसतिः प्रेषितोऽभून्मया च ॥

(*b*) विप्रागाराण्यरमविरलान्येकतोऽन्यत्र तद्वत्
भृत्यागाराण्यपि च कुत्रचिन्मन्त्रिणां मन्दिराणि ।
देवागारं कुत्रचन तथा चैत्यमन्यत्र भागे
वेश्यावेश्मान्यपरत इतो वैश्यशाला शतानि ॥

(*c*) कोशागारं कुत्रचन पुनः कुत्रचिच्छस्त्रशाला
मन्त्रागारं क्वचन परतो मन्दुराणां बहूनि ।
भूषागारं क्वचिदपरतो भुक्तिशाला विशाला-
स्सौधास्तुंगाः क्वचिदपरतस्सैन्यशाला शतानि ॥

(*d*) कासाराश्च क्वचन विमलैरम्बुभिः पूर्यमाणा
फुल्लामोदि प्रसवसुभगाः कुत्रचिन्निष्कुटाश्च ।
रम्भाकेरक्रमुकनिकराश्चापि कुत्रापि यस्मिन्
वक्तुं नायं प्रभवति जनो भूरितां चारुतायाः ॥

describing the ancient glory of Padmanābhapuram, abounding in palatial buildings, temples, Brahmin houses, etc.

From this poem it is seen that the palace was in a state of prosperity during the time of Kārttikatirunāḷ Rama Varma Maharaja of Travancore, M.E. 933–973 (1758–1798 A.D.). At present what remains of the ancient structures are a number of buildings elegantly designed and displaying a simplicity of architectural style. The most noteworthy of them are the Pūmukham or entrance Hall, the Mantraśāla or Council Chamber, the Plāmūṭṭu Koṭṭāram, the Nāṭakaśāla, the Tāy Koṭṭāram, Koccumaṭṭuppāvu, Upparikka, Vēppamooṭṭu Koṭṭāram, Lakshmi Vilas, Pooja Maṇḍapam, the Sarasvati temple, the Bhagavati shrine, the Candra Vilas, the Indra Vilas and Hōmapura. Of all these, the Upparikka is the most important, containing as it does exquisite mural paintings of the 16th century A.D. which are wonderfully well-preserved in the topmost storey of the building. These form a precious artistic heritage of the State and are full of charm and expression and display a remarkable completeness of technique. Just above the Portico of the Plāmūṭṭu Koṭṭāram is the council hall where some rare specimens of wood carving can be seen. Just south of this is the Nāṭakaśāla or theatre hall. East of the Plāmūṭṭu Koṭṭāram is built the Tāy Koṭṭāram in which there is an open space of verandah called Ēkānta Maṇḍapa, built of finely carved wooden pilasters where Durga Pūja known as 'Kalameḻuttum Pāṭṭum' is performed for 41 days every year. The light-well in this building reminds us of its close resemblance to ancient Sumerian structures. There is also an ancient cellar in this building in which precious materials were kept.

North of the Plāmūṭṭu Koṭṭāram is the Upparikka on the topmost floor of which are the mural paintings already referred to. The lower floor of this building was used as the Īṭuvaippu or record room. North of this central Pagoda is the Vēppamūṭṭu palace, on

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(*e*) दृष्ट्वा तांस्तान् मुकुरितरतः काप्यदृष्टान् पदार्थान्
तत्रैव त्वं कमपि समयं तिष्ठ हृष्टान्तरात्मा ।
व्यायामार्थं तदनु विशिखा चारिणां मानवानाम्
स्पर्धोद्भूतैस्तदपि परुषैर्हर्षितैर्भीषितो भूः ॥

(*f*) अस्त्येतस्मिन् महदिव महाकालवेश्मोज्जयिन्याम्
शैवं देवायतनमनघं नीलकण्ठालयाख्यम् ।
तत्रासीनं सपदि समुपेत्याथ देवञ्च देवी-
मासेवेथा हृदि समुदितानन्दमानन्दवल्लीम् ॥

the eastern portion of which are situated the Hōmappura and the Sarasvati temple. North of the Vēppamūṭṭu palace is built the Lakshmi Vilas, a new building constructed during the time of H.H. the late Maharaja out of the relics of an older building. West of the Lakshmi Vilas and north of the Vēppamūṭṭu palace can be seen the Navarātri Maṇḍapa built of exquisitely carved granite pillars and brick in chunnam. This edifice is reminiscent of the late Vijayanagara style of architecture and was used in the old days for holding musical concerts, dance performances, etc.

To the east of this Maṇḍapa is now located the Archaeological Museum in which are exhibited a number of ancient stone inscriptions and sculptures discovered in various parts of the State.

The building on the north-west corner is called the Candra Vilās which was in old days supposed to have been used for residence during summer. There is a long corridor connecting this and the Indra Vilās, facing the southern street. It was in the Indra Vilās the Maharajas used to receive guests and grant them interviews. It was in this palace that Fra Paolino, the Christian Missionary, interviewed the then Maharaja. In the Kollam year 959 (A.D. 1784) at His Highness's request he wrote a grammar for the study of English, Portuguese and Malayāḷam. In the Kollam year 938 (A.D. 1763) the Zamorin of Calicut and the Raja of Cochin came to Padmanābhapuram and executed a treaty by which they swore to be perpetual allies of the Travancore kings.

One unique feature of the Padmanābhapuram palace is that one can go round the various buildings on the level without ascending or descending. Within the palace premises, there is also a Bhagavati temple wherein is consecrated the Śrī Cakra. Traces of several former old and massive structures are seen round about this shrine. Relics of an old palace called the Tekkē Koṭṭāram with a tank and remnants of an old Maṇḍapa on the southern side are also found. Close to this there is a building called the Nirappura in which there is an abundance of exquisite woodwork.

East of the palace precincts is situated the famous temple dedicated to Nīlakaṇṭha or Śiva which in the Cātaka Sandēśa is compared to the Mahākāla shrine of Ujjain.

Enclosing all these secular and religious structures is a square stone fortification about 2½ miles perimeter built to defend the palace and the celebrated Pagodas within. The area and the ground enclosed within the fort walls is 186¼ acres.

The walls comprising the fort are 3 feet thick and are built with granite up to within 8 feet of the parapet, the remaining portion being laterite. At the four corners of the fort there are four main bastions more or less square in size and shape. The height of the

walls varies according to the inclination of the ground, the highest elevation being 25 feet and the lowest 15 feet including the parapets which are 3 feet high throughout. The principal entrances to the fort are four gateways situated one on each wall. There are also other smaller gateways near three of the bastions.

About a mile south-east of Padmanābhapuram is Udayagiri, one of the principal military stations of Travancore in ancient days. The fort was built by Eustachius De Lannoy, a Flemish soldier in the Dutch army, who, after the defeat of the Dutch at Colachel in 1741 A.D., was taken prisoner and later was appointed military commander by the Maharaja of Travancore. De Lannoy built this fort and others and won brilliant victories against the Dutch and minor Rajas of various principalities. He died from wounds in 1777 A.D. at the age of 62 years and 5 months and was buried with military honours in the chapel. From an inscription in Latin over his grave, it is seen that he served the Maharaja for nearly 37 years with great faithfulness and subjected all kingdoms from Kayancolam to Cochin by the might of his arms.

The walls enclosing the Udayagiri fort are on an average 15 feet thick and 18 feet high including the parapet. They are lined within and without with stones. There are in all ten bastions, five of which were intended for cannon, the others being pierced for musketry only. The whole fort is built of strong granite round a lofty isolated hillock. Within it still stand the walls of the old chapel with tombstones of historical importance. The most important of them are those of De Lannoy, his wife and son.



View of the Padmanābhapuram Palace.

PERSONIFICATION OF NIGHT AS WOMAN IN KALIDASA

By C. W. Gurner

The personification of Night in terms of woman is a characteristic instance of Kalidasa's method of infusing the Rasa of Śṛngāra, the emotion of Sex Appeal, into his treatment of nature. The early poem the Ritusaṁhāra is imbued with this spirit. For the greater part it is not Nature for its own sake that forms the dominant interest but Nature as evocative of erotic ideas or associations. Every aspect of Nature recalls womanhood, and among them Night in autumn.[1] 'Decked in the lovely jewelry of the stars, her moon countenance released from its cloudy veil, and wearing the silken garment of the moonlight the night increases day by day as an adolescent girl.' [2]

This obsession of early girlhood and evening has a strong hold on Kalidasa. It is applied for instance by way of contrast of ideas, itself a form of simile, to Pārvatī as the girl ascetic. 'Why cast away your ornaments in youth? [3] Is night at eventide in glow of moon and stars fitted for the saffron robe of dawn?' While again in the Mālavikāgnimitra [4] the thought quoted from the Ritusaṁhāra is reversed, and it is now the Bride who is represented as a spring night at moonrise—'Robed in short silken garment she shines before me in her jewels as a night in Chaitra when the moon is all but rising, and the stars free from mist'.

It may be noted in passing how these instances illustrate the whole difference in conception between the Sanskritic simile, elaborate and precise in corresponding details, and that of Western literature, concerned more with the general illustrative idea. 'Rosy fingered dawn' and Marlowe's Helen 'fairer than the evening air clad in the beauty of a thousand stars' come to the mind at once to be set beside them, but the Western imagery is entirely different in spirit and method. The 'thousand stars' are not a counterpart to any

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[1] R.S., III, 7.

[2] As this note is purely of cultural and not scholastic interest I have translated the quotations, with some attempt to convey the double meaning of almost every epithet as applied to the two sides of the simile, familiar to readers of the original but never quite reproducible.

[3] KS., V, 44.

[4] Mal., V, 7.

jewellery Helen may be wearing, but merely heighten the beauty of the night.

The sky at moonrise is elaborated in a passage in the eighth canto of the Kumārasambhava as part of the theme of Love in a Garden, but with a freshness and imaginativeness which, for the writer, sets it apart from the general range of Kalidasa's imagery,[1] 'Gathering together in the fingers of the moonrays the clustered darkness of her hair, the Moon kisses the face of Night as she closes the budded lotus of her eyes'. While with similar imaginativeness the rising moonlight is the Ketoki dust on the face of Night.[2] The idea of darkness as hair is anticipated on more conventional lines in a passage in the Vikramorvaśī [3] personifying the Eastern sky, with allusion to the moon as lover gathering up his mistress' braided hair on re-union (the commonplace of the Meghaduta). It should be added that the verses quoted from the eighth canto of the Kumārasambhava are not only distinctive in tone itself, but form part of a series of similes from the Śṛngāra motif, which, though they do occur in Kalidasa will not be found elsewhere 'packed' as in this passage, another consideration bearing on the authorship of the canto.

The imagery so far quoted (with the exception perhaps of that from the Vikramorvaśī) makes its appeal without special demands on the more conventional themes of sex relationship which run through Kāvya poetry; but the conception of a night in Spring or Autumn as a woman wronged by her lover implies very definitely the conventional Khaṇḍitā, the word itself appearing (with the inevitable double meaning) in the picture of Spring. 'In the pale complexion of the rising moon the Lady Night, cut by Spring, wastes away, like a woman denied the happiness of meeting with her lover'.[4] While more simply in the Autumn 'fevered day and wasted night resemble husband and wife in remorse, parted from contrariness'.[5] From this point Kalidasa's imagery of Nature leads on to a conception based definitely on polygamous practice [6] in the idea of Northern or Southern sky at the equinox [7] as the wife distressed by her husband's preference for a rival. But this goes beyond the small cross-section studied in this note.

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[1] KS., VIII, 43.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII, 58.
[3] Vik., III, 6.
[4] RV., IX, 30.
[5] *Ibid.*, XVI, 45.
[6] *Ibid.*, XVI, 44.
[7] KS., III, 25.

IN DEFENCE OF INDIVIDUALITY

By P. NAGARAJA RAO

The Chinese philosopher, Confucius, narrates a very significant incident which gives us an insight into the value of individuality. As he was passing by the Mount Thai, he came on a woman who was weeping bitterly by a grave, the Master quickly went to her and said 'Your wailing is that of one who has suffered sorrow on sorrow'. She replied that it is so, and continued 'Once my husband's father was killed here by a tiger. My husband was also killed and now my son has died in the same way'. The Master said 'Then why do you not leave this place?'

Individuality is a tender plant, most potential in its power and needs careful fostering. Freedom is the air of the spirit and it is the soul of the individual. It is freedom that makes life worth living. It helps the law of self-development. Its denial is a denial of all that makes life worth living. When we have it we do not realize all that it means to us. We realize its value only when it is denied to us. It is just like health and oxygen to us. To provide the nourishment to the soul and allow it to grow to its full stature is to give value to human life. All the religions of the past have defended the sacredness of the individual and have treated the individual as an *End* and never as a *Means* to the production of the Super-Man of the most efficient community. The individual is not to be treated 'as a drop of blood in an ocean of racial purity, nor as a cog in a proletarian machine, or as an ant in a social termitary, but as an End in himself with a right to happiness and a hope for immortality'. The Upanishads declare that there is no more sacred verity than the individual spirit (Purusha).

The modern scientific rationalist treats the individual as a piece of mechanism to be experimented with. He resolves the individual into a few pounds of carbon, a few quarts of water, some lime, and a little phosphorus and sulphur, a pinch of iron and silicum and a handful of mixed salts. While resolving the individual into these substances the scientist forgets that this scheme of analysis is the creation of man. Is not then the individual a miracle though he is a product of natural forces? This in essence is the mystery of man. Hence the sacredness of the individual. The supreme effort of education and society should be the production of the real and splendid individual and not a mechanically efficient society. Statesmanship unlike philosophy is the art of the second best.

Politics can at best prevent deterioration and not bring about the betterment of the individual. Modern political theories are essentially unspiritual in that they do not respect the principle of the sacred individual. They are out to crush the individual and make him a rabot in the community. Standardization on culture, systematic suppression of any opinion contrary to the State, militant nationalism, supreme faith in armaments, retreat of reason, superstitious faith in race superiority, rule by revelation and governance by gile are characteristic features of Fascism, Communism and military democracies with rickety institutions and narrow class-bound statesmen at the head of the State.

The spiritual principle of politics ought to be the preservation of the sanctity of the individual. He is the representation of the highest in the universe. The ultimate principle that the individual is an end in himself has to be intuitively apprehended and not logically established. Disagreement with this postulate is not impossible nor is there any method of establishing it through the help of empirical logic. The sacredness of the individual is the postulate of all philosophy in the East and the West.

It follows from this that political organizations should function in such a manner as not to violate the individual or his growth. Neither Fascism nor Communism act in such a friendly manner towards the individual. Fascism identifies the individual with the State and makes him a mere cog in the State machinery. It makes him through terror and execution a slave with no life.

Naked power with ruthless capacity to manage things is the fundamental tenet of their creed. They have no use for wisdom. They are fired by the primitive lust for dominions and not by a civilized standard of values. They do not see that power without wisdom is useless. It is absolute wisdom that is harmless and not absolute power. It is in view of this principle that Plato put Philosophers (men of wisdom trained in the academy in the arts of Mathematics, Music and Metaphysics) at the head of the State. Plato tempered power with wisdom. He did not respect the naked power of the Fascist nor the revolutionary power of the Communist.

Democracy is comparatively a better type of government. It works on the principle that every individual has a share in political affairs. It believes rightly that political liberties are necessary for the growth of the individual.

The argument of the Socialist is narrow and does not hold water. Political liberty is a good in itself and it has the supreme value of fostering the individual. It is not an impediment to economic security. On the other hand it is the pre-condition of economic security. It is the presence of political liberty that has helped the

propagation of the socialist doctrine and the socialist movement. But for it elementary rights present in a democratic State would be nowhere. Thus in the most wide sense of the term Liberalism is not a foe to Socialism but only its ally.

The great rational social analyst of our times points out that for those to whom traditional religion is no longer possible there are other ways. Some find what they need in music, some in poetry. For some others astronomy serves the same purpose. When we reflect upon the size and antiquity of the stellar universe, the controversies on this rather insignificant planet lose some of their importance and the acerbity of our disputes seems a trifle ridiculous. When we are liberated by this negative emotion we are able to realize more fully through music or mysticism, through history or science, through beauty or pain, that the really valuable things in human life are individual, not such things as happen on a battlefield or in the clash of politics or in the regimented march of masses of men towards an externally imposed goal. The wisdom of the Aryans expressed this truth.

A HISTORICAL CHARACTER IN THE REIGN OF AŚOKA MAURYA

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In Buddhist literature, there are references to a few important historical characters belonging to the Mauryan period, who have still remained nondescripts in history. One of them is Prince Piṅgala, the tawny-eyed ruler of Surāṣṭra (Kathiawad), about whom some information is available in the *Petavatthu* [1] as well as in its commentary, the *Paramatthadīpanī* [2]. He was a feudatory of the Mauryan emperors, Bindusāra and Aśoka, and had his seat of government at Surāṣṭranagara [3]. In the year 282 B.C., corresponding to the sixteenth regnal year of Bindusāra [4], he ascended the throne and ever

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[1] *Petavatthu*, ed. Minayeff (P.T.S. Ed.), pp. 57–61 (iv. 3). London 1888.

[2] *Paramatthadīpanī on Petavatthu*, ed. Hardy (P.T.S. Ed.), pp. 244–257. London 1894.

[3] The name of the ancient capital of Surāṣṭra during the Mauryan period, or even before it, is not known to us from any other sources. Surāṣṭranagara seems to be the same as the Girinagara mentioned in the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I (A.D. 150), which was very probably its later name (*Epig. Ind.*, viii. p. 42). Girinagara must have been somewhere at the foot of the Girnar hill to which it has apparently imparted its name (Girinagara=Girinayara=Girnār). In the days of Parṇadatta and Cakrapālita, the two successive governors of Skandagupta in Surāṣṭra, the capital of that province was also very close to the Ūrjayat, or the Girnar hill, but its name is so far unknown to us. Probably it was still known as Girinagara and was in every respect identical with the old town of that name. Its close proximity to the hill is evidenced by the fact that, when the massive embankment of the Sudarśana lake, which was constructed more than three centuries ago (A.D. 150) by the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman I across the gorge of the Ūrjayat hill, burst at night (*rātrau*) and the water escaped (A.D. 455), the people of that town woke up (*pūrvāpararātramutthitā*) evidently on hearing the crash, which could be heard distinctly in spite of heavy rains (*vavarṣa toyaṁ bahusaṁtataṁ ciraṁ*) (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, iii. p. 60). When Yuan Chwang visited Su-la-ch'a, or Surāṣṭra, in A.D. 641, the capital was still near the Yüh-shan-to hill (Skt. Ūrjayat, Pkt. Ujjanta), but, unfortunately, the pilgrim has forgotten to mention its name (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii. pp. 248-249). Thus, if we consider the ancient Surāṣṭranagara to be identical with the Girinagara mentioned in Rudradāman's inscription, then it has to be placed somewhere at the foot of the Girnar hill—probably on the rising ground near the commencement of the gorge that gives access to the valley lying round the hill.

[4] *Paramatthadīpanī on Petavatthu*, p. 244 (*Satthu parinibbānato vassasatad-vayassa accayena*). A.B. 200 *expired* is equivalent to B.C. 283-282 *expired* or 282-281 *current*, if the date of the commencement of the Buddha era is fixed on Sunday,

since administered justice with great ability and tact, keeping cordial relations with the paramount power and his own subjects. It is said that, under the influence of his general Nandaka [1], he not only became an ardent believer in the doctrine of 'Non-existence of Consequence' (*Natthikadiṭṭhi*) but, with the help of the former, also tried to popularize it within his territory [2]. Regarding the nature of that doctrine, the main features of which are also contained in the aforesaid works, it may be said that it is an admixture of the religious beliefs maintained and preached by at least three distinguished *parivrājakas*, or wandering ascetics, who flourished in the sixth century B.C. Thus, it denies the effects of Action (*karma*), as in the *Ucchedavāda* of Ajita Kesakambalī [3], admits the existence of Seven Phenomena (*kāya*) in the organism of a living creature, as in the *Sattakāyavāda* of Pakudha Kaccāyana [4], and inculcates the cessation of re-birth for all sentient beings after completing or passing through numerous types of existence coming one after another in uniform succession, as in the *Saṁsārasuddhi* of

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April 26, 483 B.C. as computed by us on the basis of the Theravāda tradition (*Vaiśākha-pūrṇimā*), or on October 13, 483 B.C. as computed by Fleet on the basis of the Sarvāstivāda tradition (Kārttika, *śukla* 8) (*J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 22).

[The dates occurring in this Paper are strictly on the basis of the Theravāda chronology and have been computed by taking the initial year of the Buddha era as equivalent to B.C. 483-482.]

1 Both the readings are to be found in our sources: Nandikā (*sic*) in the P.T.S. edition of the *Petavatthu* and Nandaka in the same edition of its commentary.

2 *Paramatthadīpanī*, p. 244 (. . . . . *mahājano natthi dinnan ti ādinā micchāgāhaṁ gāhito*). *cf. Petavatthu*, iv. 3, 23.

3 *Petavatthu*, iv. 3, 24–27. *cf. Dīgha Nikāya*, ed. Rhys Davids and Carpenter, i. pp. 55-56. London 1890.

In the Tibetan *Vinaya*, the favourite theories of Makkhali Gosāla and Pūraṇa Kassapa have been wrongly attributed to Ajita Kesakambalī, which is also the case with the Pali *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (i. pp. 286-287). Likewise, what the Buddha knew to be the doctrine of Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, has also been attributed to Ajita in an old Chinese Buddhist text belonging to the 4th cent. A.D. (Nanjio, B., *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, No. 593).

4 *Petavatthu*, iv. 3, 28-(? 29). *cf. Dīgh. Nik.*, i. pp. 56-57.

In the *Divyāvadāna*, Pakudha Kaccāyana has been mentioned as Kakuda Kātyāyana, i.e., 'Hump-backed' Kātyāyana, because, perhaps, of his having a hump on the back (ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 143). The cognomen 'Kakuda' also occurs in the *Mahāvastu* before his name (ed. Senart, i. p. 253). In the Tibetan *Vinaya*, the doctrine of Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta has been attributed to him evidently by mistake, while in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (i. pp. 517-518) due to the inadvertency of its reciters, he has been credited with the theories of Makkhali Gosāla in addition to his own. Dr. B. M. Barua gives good reasons to believe that Pakudha (also Kakudha) Kaccāyana is the same as Kavandhin Kātyāyana, a younger contemporary of Pippalāda, about whom some information is available in the *Praśnopaniṣad* (*Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 281).

Makkhali Gosāla [1]. If the facts stated in the *Petavatthu* are correct, then this novel conception of life and its realities should be taken to be a new contribution in the sphere of Hindu philosophy, even though it was influenced in a large measure by certain atheistic doctrines. Unfortunately, no information is available in the sources at our disposal about the ascetic to whom, or the ascetic order to which, this new doctrine may be attributed.

Such was the doctrine of 'Non-existence of Consequence' in which Piṅgala and the commander of his army (*senāpati*) [2] were

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[1] *Petavatthu*, iv. 3, 30–33. *cf. Dīgh. Nik.*, i. pp. 53-54.

It appears from the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (xv. 1) that Gosāla was for many years a disciple of Mahāvīra, but ultimately quarrelled with him and renounced his spiritual leadership. In the canonical scriptures of the Jains, Makkhali Gosāla has been mentioned as Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, while in the Sanskrit Buddhist texts, he figures under the name of Maskarī Gośālīputra (*Uvāsaga Dasāo*, ed. Hoernle, pp. 97f.; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 143). In the *Majjhima Nikāya* (i. pp. 238-239), the Buddha is said to have described him as an *acelaka* (naked ascetic), i.e., an Ājīvika, like Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Saṁkicca. It is evident from the canonical Pali texts and their commentaries that the Buddhists not only considered Gosāla to be an Ājīvika ascetic, but also one of the six distinguished philosophers and the foremost leader of a renowned ascetic order at the time of the Buddha.

Gosāla was undoubtedly an Ājīvika and, as a matter of that, a *makkhali* or *maskarin* ('one who carries a bamboo staff': Pāṇini, vi. 1, 154); for we know definitely from the story of Upaka that the Ājīvikas had to carry always a staff with them (*laṭṭhihattha*), which was perhaps an emblem of their ascetic order (*cf. Therīgāthā*, lxviii. 1; *Therīgāthā Comy.*, ed. Müller, p. 224). It may be noted here that the word *maskarī* phonetically corresponds to *makkhali* in Pali as well as to *makhali* in Prakrit and *maṅkhali* in the Jaina Prakrit, the difference between the last two being in the nasalization of the latter. Maṅkhaliputta Gosāla was, thus, not the son of a beggar or mendicant (*maṅkha*) who used to beg alms by showing the pictures of hideous -looking deities, as the Jain writers want us to believe (*Bhagavatī Sūtra*, xv. 1; *Bhag. Sūt. Comy.* on '*maṅkha*': '*citraphalakavyagrakarabhikṣuviśeṣah*'); but by virtue of his being a *maskarin* ascetic, he was undoubtedly a 'Maṅkhaliputta' (Maskarīputtra) inasmuch as any Buddhist monk is a 'Sakyaputta' (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed. Oldenberg, i. pp. 72ff.). It is interesting to note that, in his attempt to stigmatize the rebel Gosāla as the son of a beggar, the author of the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* has overlooked the fact that, according to his characterization, the form of the word should be 'Maṅkhaputta' and not 'Maṅkhaliputta'. This sectarian bias becomes all the more apparent when he further wants us to believe that Gosāla's father was called Maṅkhali, because he was a *maṅkha*—a derivation which is not warranted by any rule of either Sanskrit, Pali, or Prakrit grammar.

The real name of that ascetic philosopher was Gosāla—a fact on which there is perfect agreement between the Buddhist and the Jain authorities. But, whether he was 'Maṅkhaliputra' or 'Gośālīputra' is a point which must be considered as unsettled for the present. [For further information about the Ājīvikas and Gosāla, *vide* 'The Ājīvikas' by Dr. B. M. Barua (*Jour. Dept. Letts.*, Calcutta University, ii. pp. 1–80), which is perhaps the most comprehensive and scholarly study on the subject made so far. See also D. R. Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, xli (1912), pp. 286–290; Hoernle, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *s.v.*]

[2] *Paramatthadīpanī*, p. 244 (*l.* 17).

so deeply interested. In his proselyting zeal, the ruler of Surāṣṭra thought of converting the emperor Aśoka to his faith; and, with the object of giving him some sermons thereon, he left for Pāṭaliputra with a large retinue (*Piṅgalo rājā Dhammāsokassa rañño ovādaṁ dātuṁ gato*) [1]. As a vassal chief, he might have come previously into direct contact with the emperor, for the latter, as a prince, was for a long time in touch with the administration of Surāṣṭra, when he was the viceroy of the western division of the Maurya empire during the later period of his father's reign [2]; and it is not unlikely that this personal acquaintance Piṅgala wanted to avail of, to convert his suzerain and to get the support of the state for the propagation of that doctrine. The result of his interview with the emperor is not known, but we may be definitely certain that he failed to make any impression on his mind; for the religion, which Aśoka himself favoured and propagated both in and outside his empire, does in no way support either the theory of non-action of *Karma* or that of a fixed metempsychosis for all living beings, as is evident from his own lithic records. Piṅgala's ambition to convert Aśoka might have been aroused, when a series of the Fourteen Rock Edicts conveying the messages on *Dhaṁma* were actually engraved by order of the emperor in the very heart of Surāṣṭra [3]. And if this presumption is correct, then the date of Piṅgala's visit to Pāṭaliputra would fall somewhere between the year B.C. 252-251, corresponding to the thirteenth regnal year of Aśoka,—the latest date occurring in the Rock Edicts [4]—and B.C.

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[1] *Paramatthadīpanī*, p. 244 (*ll.* 29-30).

[2] *Mahāvaṁsa*, v. 39-40; *Mahābodhivaṁsa*, ed. Strong, pp. 98-99 (Avantiraṭṭha).

[3] On the Girnar hill in Kathiawad.

[4] R.E. No. V.

According to the orthodox Buddhist tradition, Aśoka was consecrated in A.B. 219 (Jyeṣṭha), corresponding to B.C. 264-263 or, to be more accurate, B.C. 264. According to Fleet, he was crowned on April 25, 264 B.C. (*J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 26f.). We, however, do not find any cogent reason to accept that date. It is not only based on a dubious tradition fixing the date of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* on Kārttika, *śukla* 8, corresponding to October 13, 483 B.C., but also on the supposition that Tiṣya (Puṣya) was the star of Aśoka's coronation (*J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 31-32). The moon, it may be noted here, was in the Puṣya constellation during all the daylight hours from about 8 A.M. (I.S.T.) on Sunday, April 25, 264 B.C. (A.B. 219, Jyeṣṭha, *śukla* 5). But what Fleet considers to be the coronation star of Aśoka, is, in reality, the birth-star of the emperor, as pointed out by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar on the evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (*Asoka*, 2nd Ed., pp. 10-11 and 68; *Arthaśāstra*, ed. R. Shama Sastry, 3rd Ed., p. 409).

There being no positive data on record, the chance of ascertaining the lunar day of the bright fortnight of Jyeṣṭha (A.B. 219) in which Aśoka was consecrated, seems to be remote (*cf. Dīpv.*, xi. 14).

247, the date of the Third Buddhist Council [1] in which the religious experiences of the former were related and recorded.

While Prince Piṅgala was absent from his headquarters, his general Nandaka died. The funeral rites of the deceased were performed by his daughter Uttarā in the manner preferred by the Buddhists, for she was an ardent believer in Buddhism despite her father's heretical activities. She was married in a very respectable family some time before her father's death [2].

When Piṅgala came back to Surāṣṭranagara, he was no longer an upholder of the *Natthikadiṭṭhi* but a zealous Buddhist. The cause of his conversion appears to have remained a secret for a long time till it became known to a few Buddhist monks by whom it was ultimately made public [3]. Piṅgala is said to have told them that, while he was crossing the jungle tracts of the Vindhyan ranges with his army on his way back to Surāṣṭra [4], the spirit of the deceased Nandaka appeared before him in the form of a well-dressed young man of godlike appearance and warned him, by referring to his own case, against the pitiable conditions to be experienced after death by being a follower of the *Natthikadiṭṭhi*, and, furthermore, entreated of him to profess his faith in the Buddha and follow the ethical principles laid down by that great saint for the spiritual welfare of the laity. The prince is said to have told them further that, since then, he became an ardent believer in Buddhism after discarding all those false views (*viramitvā pāpadassanaṁ*) which he had so fervently maintained and acted upon for such a long time [5].

The confession of Piṅgala was apparently believed by the Buddhist monks who had heard him; for they gave much publicity to it by bringing it to the notice of the Theras, i.e., the senior monks of the Order (*therānam ārocesuṁ*), who were to participate in the ecclesiastical conference which was then going to be held at Pāṭaliputra [6].

Such is the story of the prince Piṅgala as recorded in the *Petavatthu* as well as in the *Paramatthadīpanī* of Dhammapāla (6th cent. A.D.) [7]. But the truth behind his conversion will ever

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1 *v. infra.*
2 *Paramatthadīpanī*, p. 244; *Petavatthu*, iv. 3, 38–43.
3 *Paramatthadīpanī*, p. 256.
4 *ibid.*, pp. 244-245; *Petavatthu*, iv. 3, 1–4.
5 *Petavatthu*, iv. 3, 45–53.
6 *Paramatthadīpanī*, pp. 256-257.
7 For further information about Dhammapāla, *vide* Malalasekera, G.P., *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, pp. 112–116. London 1928. *cf.* Watters, T., *On Yuan Chwang*, ii. pp. 226–228. London 1905.

remain a mystery in spite of what has been said with so much zest by the Buddhist writers. The confession of the prince, viz, it was the spirit of Nandaka that was solely responsible for bringing about a change in his religious outlook, has no place in sober history and may, therefore, be left to its pious believers to accommodate it in some suitable quarters. One fact, however, may be admitted as certain and that is, when Piṅgala left Surāṣṭranagara, he was an atheist, but when he returned from Pāṭaliputra, he was a Buddhist. Could the paid preachers of Aśoka, the so-called *Dhaṁma-mahāmātas*, who were posted at the imperial capital, find another infidel so worthy of their religious exhortations as this non-believer in *Karma* and Heaven and Hell?

Towards the end of December, B.C. 248, or the beginning of January, B.C. 247, the Third Buddhist Council met at Pāṭaliputra under the patronage of Aśoka, in the seventeenth year of his reign [1]. The main items on which the members seem to have concentrated their attention were, to revise and rehearse the existing canonical scriptures and to refute certain unbuddhistic dogmas and practices that had cropped up in the Buddhist Church since the demise of the Buddha. As the President of the Council, the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa, who was also the Patriarch of the orthodox Buddhist Church, was in favour of giving a touch of modernity to the canon by incorporating in it such important sermons as were delivered, or ecstatic verses as were composed by the distinguished Buddhist monks who were his contemporaries, or had shortly predeceased him, many new sections were added [2], besides an entire work, viz, the *Kathāvatthu*, which was his own composition [3]. Although Piṅgala was an ordinary lay believer in Buddhism (*upāsaka*), his religious experiences were considered to be worth recording by the Theras to whom they were communicated. As all the Theras were in favour of its incorporation in the canon, the story of Nandaka was given a literary garb through versification and was included in

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[1] *Mahāvaṁsa*, v. 280; *Dīpavaṁsa*, ed. Oldenberg, p. 52 (vii. 37). London 1879.

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the Council lasted for nine months and ended with a *Pavāraṇā* ceremony. As the *Pavāraṇā* marks the end of *varṣāvāsa* (rainy recess for the members of the Buddhist *Saṁgha*, lasting for three lunar months and commencing generally on and from Śrāvaṇa, *kṛṣṇa* 1), the Council must have been dissolved on the full-moon day of Āśvina (Āśvayuja), 236 A.B., corresponding to Wednesday, September 22, 247 B.C. as reckoned by us. It, therefore, appears to have commenced either on the full-moon day of Pauṣa immediately after the *Uposatha* ceremony or on the day following it, i.e., Māgha, *kṛṣṇa* 1.

[2] *v. infra.*

[3] *Mahv.*, v. 278.

the *Petavatthu*, while the Council was still in session (*Therā Tatiya-saṅgītiyaṁ saṅgahaṁ āropesuṁ*)[1]. Although the Buddhist writers are reticent about the reasons that had led the Theras to select it as one of the pieces to be added to the canon, it is difficult to believe that there was none, or that they were not properly discussed in the Council before its permission for such an unprecedented and apparently unjustifiable procedure was obtained. We think, however, that there were at least two reasons which had favoured the incorporation of a layman's statement. It might have occurred to the members of the Council, to whom the task of redacting the *Petavatthu* was assigned, that the work as handed down to them contains the stories only of those *petas* who, according to the tradition, were the contemporaries of the Buddha during their mortal existence, and that, because of this antique character, the entire collection of the *peta*-stories may be sceptically received outside the priestly circle, at any rate, by those for whom it is primarily intended. To avert that possible danger, the redactors possibly thought of making the collection as far realistic and modern as possible by including in it the story of Nandaka, as was communicated to them by the Buddhist monks who had heard it from Prince Piṅgala. Again, the commentator Dhammapāla informs us that Nandaka became a *vemānikapeta* after death[2]. The source of his information is evidently the long-lost *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*, otherwise known as the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*, the authorship of which is ascribed by tradition to the Thera Mahinda, son of the emperor Aśoka[3]. As that work contained the

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[1] *Paramatthadīpanī*, p. 257.

[2] *ibid.*, p. 244.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 1 (*vv.* 7–10); *Cūlavaṁsa*, ed. Geiger (P.T.S. Ed.), p. 18 (xxxvii. 228-229). London 1925, 1927. *cf. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, ed. Rhys Davids and Carpenter (P.T.S. Ed.), i. p. 1 (*v.* 7). London 1886.

It is difficult to believe that a voluminous work like the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* was the production of a single individual. The ecclesiastical tradition ascribes its authorship to the Thera Mahinda, because, perhaps, some portions of it were actually composed by him. If this hypothesis is correct, then the remaining portions of that work must have been composed under his guidance by those learned monks who had accompanied him to Ceylon in connexion with the missions planned by the *Saṁgha* shortly after the Third Buddhist Council (*Mahv.*, xii. 1–8; xiii. 1). As that commentary is no longer extant, we are not in a position to ascertain the names of the canonical scriptures commented on by him; but considering the fact that he was a specialist in the *Vinaya*, we are apt to presume that the texts of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, with the exclusion of the *Parivārapāṭha*, were undertaken by him for the purpose.

The *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* was so called, because it was composed in Sinhalese, apparently, in the interest of the newly-converted people of Ceylon, to whom the language of the canon and the technicalities of Buddhist philosophy were practically unintelligible. That commentary did exist at least up to the time when the sacred city of Anurādhapura was devastated and the magnificent Buddhistic edifices in

most orthodox and authentic exposition of the canonical scriptures from the standpoint of the Theravāda, it gives rise to the presumption that, from the statement of Piṅgala as reported to them, the redactors of the *Petavatthu* might have concluded that Nandaka became a *vemānikapeta.* This fact must have been known also to the Thera Mahinda, for he too was a member of the Council in his individual capacity as being the second *Vinayapāmokkha* (Chief of the Vinaya) of the Buddhist Church [1]. Now, of the several classes of the *petas* represented in the *Petavatthu* [2], those who are typically *vemānikapetas* are only a few. To be more explicit, in a collection of fifty-one stories which that work contains [3], those which specifically relate to them are only nine in number, as evidenced by the *Paramatthadīpanī* [4]. Perhaps, it is because of this poorer representation that the redactors had to make room in the *Petavatthu* for the latest story of a *vemānikapeta* so as to depict in a more fitting manner the main objective underlying the stories relating to that particular class of supernatural beings [5].

Some light has been thrown on the administration of Surāṣṭra during the reign of Aśoka by the Junagadh inscription of Rudra-

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its suburbs were utterly destroyed by the Coḷa army in the reign of Rājarāja I (A.D. 985–1015). Its disappearance along with the other old Sinhalese commentaries, thus, appears to be synchronous with the extinction of Buddhism in Ceylon shortly before the reign of Vijayabāhu I (A.D. 1058–1114). *cf. Cūlv.*, p. 184 (lx. 4–8); *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, ii. pp. 252–255; iii. p. 22 (No. 133).

[1] *Dīpv.*, pp. 39–41 (v. 88, 94, 107). It is indeed a matter of surprise that no writer on the history of Aśoka has noted the fact that, during the lifetime of his imperial father, Mahinda had the honour of being the Head of the orthodox Buddhist Church of India consecutively for seven years shortly before the meeting of the Third Buddhist Council (*Mahv.*, v. 232-233). Could the President of the Council discover another person who was more qualified to be a member of that august body than his distinguished pupil and assistant who had officiated in his place as the Patriarch of the Buddhist *Saṁgha* for such a long time?

It may be noted here that the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa himself became the *Vinayapāmokkha* in the fourteenth regnal year of the emperor Candragupta Maurya (B.C. 307).

[2] *cf.* Law, B. C., *Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, 2nd Ed., pp. 35–42 and 104–109. London 1936.

[3] The number includes the *vatthus* of Maṭṭhakuṇḍalī, Serissaka, and Revatī, occurring also in the *Vimānavatthu* to which they really belong. Excluding those three, the number of the *peta*-stories in the *Petavatthu* would be forty-eight.

[4] The *nine* stories are the following: No. 10 of Uragavaggo; Nos. 11 and 12 of Ubbarivaggo; Nos. 3, 7, and 9 of Cūlavaggo; and Nos. 3, 11, and 12 of Mahāvaggo. We have excluded No. 5 of Ubbarivaggo and Nos. 2 and 4 of Mahāvaggo, which should occur only in the *Vimānavatthu*.

[5] Law, B. C., *Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, p. 108. For an excellent treatment on this subject, *v.* '*Books of Stories of Heaven and Hell*' by B. M. Barua, pp. i–xxxv. (Published as an Appendix to *Heaven and Hell* by B. C. Law. Calcutta 1925.)

dāman I, dated in the year 72 of the Śaka era (A.D. 150)[1]. From that lithic record it appears that the province was administered (*adhiṣṭhāya*)[2] by Rāja Tuṣāspha, a Greek officer of Aśoka Maurya[3], to whom was entrusted the task of constructing the sluice-ways of the Sudarśana lake (*taḍāka*). Tuṣāspha seems to have held the same office as Puṣyagupta, the *rāṣṭriya*, or governor, of the emperor Candragupta Maurya in Surāṣṭra, under whose supervision the massive embankment of that reservoir was constructed[4]. Thus, if Tuṣāspha was the governor of Surāṣṭra, Prince Piṅgala could not possibly be its executive head, although it was possible for him to rule over that province with some limitations as a vassal chief. The Thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka suggests the existence of

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[1] *Epig. Ind.*, viii. pp. 36–49.

[2] *ibid.*, p. 46, n. 7.

[3] In the Junagadh inscription, the crown-representative of Aśoka in Surāṣṭra has been styled '*Yavanarāja*'. Although the appellation occurs in a later inscription, we need not question its veracity. The names of the worthies responsible for the supply of life-giving water in an arid region may be expected to remain in the memory of the people enjoying the benefit for many generations.

The Mauryan officer in question appears to be of Hellenic extraction, as the word '*Yavana*' implies; but his adoption of a Persian name, viz, Tuṣāspha, remains a mystery. Either his mother was an Iranian or his parents, though Greeks by birth, had thoroughly imbibed the Iranian culture, because of their prolonged stay in Persia or in the immediate neighbourhood of that country. Another Greek ruler who also figures in Indian history under an unhellenistic name, is Peukolaus. His name phonetically corresponds to the word '*Puṣkala*' in Sanskrit, to which various meanings have been adduced in the lexicons. On numismatic grounds, however, he has been connected with the city of Puṣkalāvatī (also Skt. Puṣkarāvatī; Gk. Peukolaïtis), which was undoubtedly the seat of his government and, perhaps, also the place of his birth (*cf. Catal. of Coins in the Punj. Mus.*, Lahore, i. p. 80; *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gāndhāra*, Foucher, pp. 10–16; *Cambridge History of India*, i. p. 587).

[4] In Sanskrit, the word *rāṣṭrika* etymologically means, among others, 'the ruler of a small territory or province'; but the use of the word *rāṣṭriya* in the same sense is rather uncommon, at any rate, not known to us so far. In Pali literature, the word *raṭṭhika* (Skt. *rāṣṭrika*) signifies 'a hereditary chief' in general (sometimes in combination with the word *pettanika* which is evidently a mistake for *pettenika*, though established by usage. *cf. Aṅg. Nik.*, P.T.S. Ed., iii. pp. 76, 78, and 300) and 'a vassal chief' in particular (*Mahv.*, xxxiii. 53; *Jāt.*, ed. Fausböll, v. p. 253). In the inscriptions of Aśoka (R.E. V.), its equivalents, viz, *raṭhika, laṭhika*, and *risṭika*, seem to occur in the sense of a class of 'noblemen' or 'landlords', belonging to the western provinces, like the 'Sirdars' of modern times (also in combination with the word *peteṇika* or *pitinika*, corresponding to *paitrayaṇika* in Sanskrit and *pettanika* (*sic*) in Pali. See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 80 n.), though it is quite possible that it has been used to refer to a group of people or community of Western India of some definite political character. The word *raṭhika* also occurs in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela in the sense of 'a hereditary chief', as we find in Pali (*J.B.O.R.S.*, iv. p. 399). In some inscriptions of the Andhra period, to

feudal states within his empire (*idha rājavisayamhi*) [1], and one of our sources does mention Surāṣṭra as a *visaya*.[2] As a feudatory, Piṅgala's relation to the crown was not possibly direct but through the governor

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be found in the cave-temples at Kanheri, Karle, Bedsa, and Bhaja, the expression *raṭhika* with the word *mahā* prefixed to it, signifies a title of honour borne by some of the vassal chiefs, whose wives even could use the title '*Mahāraṭhinī*'. One of the *Mahāraṭhis* is known to have issued coins in his own name; but whether it is a case of special privilege which was granted to him by his Śātavāhana overlord or not, remains yet to be settled (*Brit. Mus. Catal. of Coins*, Rapson, pp. 57-58). The use of the term *rāṣṭrika* in the sense of 'a ruler' whether of a small territory, province, or district, is not to be met with in the Gupta inscriptions, because, perhaps, of the introduction of a number of other terms like *uparika*, *viṣayapati*, *āgrahārika*, and *goptṛ*, each of which has been found to occur in a specific sense. So far as we know, the word *rāṣṭrika* occurs for the last time in Sanskrit epigraphy in its *Deśī* form *rāṭhiya* to denote 'a government official of lower rank', as, for instance, in the Mount Abu inscription of the Calukya Bhīmadeva II (A.D. 1230) (*Kīrtikaumudī*, ed. A. V. Kathavate, App. B, *Ins. l.* 28; D. R. Bhandarkar, *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 487).

There is no cogent reason to suppose that the compiler of Rudradāman's inscription has used the expression *rāṣṭriya* to signify 'the king's brother-in-law', that too being one of the meanings suggested by the Sanskrit lexicographers. Although he has been styled *rāṣṭriya*, Puṣyagupta was a *rāṣṭrika* in the sense that he, as the representative of the paramount power, exercised supreme authority in a sovereign state (*rāṣṭra*) within the imperial territorial limits. If this interpretation is correct, then he would be a *rāṣṭrapāla*, according to Kauṭilya, and a *prādesika*, but not a *raṭhika*, according to Aśoka (*Arthaśāstra*, ed. R. Shama Sastry, 3rd Ed., pp. 239 and 247; R.E. III. *Gir.*).

[1] The compound *rājavisaya* in the passage *idha rājavisayamhi*, though singular in form, is plural in sense and occurs as an antithesis to the word *aṁtesu* of the preceding sentence, which is also in plural. We should, therefore, translate the passage as 'here in (every single) sovereign state' and take it as referring to the ruling states within the limits of the empire. Dr. R. K. Mookerji, however, takes the word *visaya* to mean the dominion or empire of Aśoka and translates the passage as 'here in the king's dominion' (*Asoka*, p. 167 and n.). He has apparently overlooked the fact that, the meaning he wants to attribute to the word *visaya*, is entirely foreign to Prakrit and Pali, where it has been found to occur invariably in the sense of 'a district', 'locality', 'region', or at best 'a small kingdom'. Even in the whole range of Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions, an area of the magnitude of Aśoka's dominion has never been implied by that term, which is also the case with those Sanskrit texts and commentaries in which it has been actually found to occur. Nor do the inscriptions of Aśoka form an exception to this as is evident from the emperor's own lithic record at Sarnath, where it has been found to occur in the sense of 'a district' (*viṣavesu*=*viṣayeṣu*). With regard to the grammatical difficulty to which Dr. Mookerji has given so much prominence, it may be said that there is no dearth of instances in the inscriptions of Aśoka to show that a singular suffix has been used at a place where one would expect a plural suffix and *vice versa*. It is well known to the epigraphists that the dialects of the Aśokan inscriptions are characterized by flagrant violation of the grammatical rules governing the uses of number, gender, and case to such an extent as is inconceivable in respect of the other monumental Prakrits.

[2] *Paramatthadīpanī*, p. 258 (*ll.* 20 and 27).

of Surāṣṭra or the viceroy of the western division of the Maurya empire, whose headquarters was at Ujjain. In matters concerning the administration of his own territory, he therefore stood in the same relation to the paramount power as the Mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇu was related to the emperor Budhagupta through Suraśmicandra, the governor of the province lying between the Kālindī (Jumna) and the Narmmadā, as evidenced by an inscription discovered at Eran (*Kālindī-Narmmadayormmadhyaṁ pālayati lokapālaguṇairjjagati mahārājaśriyamanubhavati Suraśmicandre ca*)[1].

We have noticed already that, on the evidence of the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*, i.e., the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*, the commentator Dhammapāla informs us that the statement of Prince Piṅgala was incorporated in the *Petavatthu*, while the Third Buddhist Council was in session[2]. As the redactors forming the different committees, which were more or less the same as those mentioned in the *Milindapañho*[3], were appointed by the Council to revise and rehearse the canonical scriptures, we cannot possibly consider the story of Piṅgala to be an unauthorized interpolation which had taken place in Ceylon. But that story is not the only piece which was incorporated in the Pali canon with the permission of the Council. We know definitely that the ecstatic verses composed by the two uterine brothers of the emperor Aśoka, who became Buddhist monks, viz, Thera Buddhasaññaka alias Prince Vītasoka, and Thera Ekavihārika alias Prince Tissa, were also included in the *Apadāna*[4] and the *Theragāthā*[5], as evidenced by the *Paramatthadīpanī*[6]. Likewise, the verses composed by the Thera Tekicchakāni, a contemporary of Bindusāra[7], were also included in the *Apadāna*[8] and the *Theragāthā*[9],

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1 *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, ed. Fleet, iii. p. 89.

2 *v. supra.*

3 *Milindapañho*, ed. Trenckner, pp. 341-342. London 1880.

4 For Buddhasaññaka alias Vītasoka, *v. Apadāna*, ed. Lilley (P.T.S. Ed.), pp. 419-420. London 1925, 1927; *Paramatthadīpanī on Theragāthā*, ed. Sumaṅgala and Saṅgharatana, i. pp. 295–297. Colombo 1918. For Ekavihārika (-riya) alias Tissa, *v. Apadāna*, pp. 390-391; *Paramatthadīpanī on Theragāthā*, i. pp. 503–507.

5 *Thera-Therīgāthā*, ed. Oldenberg and Pischel (P.T.S. Ed.), pp. 22-23 (Vītasoka); pp. 57-58 (Ekavihāriya). London 1883.

6 *Paramatthadīpanī on Theragāthā*, i. p. 295 (*ll.* 21-22: *Dhammāsokarañño kaniṭṭhabhātā hutvā nibbatti*; *tassa Vītasoko ti nāmam ahosi*); p. 504 (*ll.* 4–8: *Dhammāsokarañño kaniṭṭhabhātā hutvā nibbatti . . . . . Tissakumāraṁ . . . . .*). *cf. Asoka*, R. K. Mookerji, p. 7; *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 370 (Vigataśoka), pp. 419–429 (Vītaśoka). These two names must be taken to refer to one and the same person. The other name of Vītaśoka was probably Sudatta or Sugātra. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii. pp. 94-95.

7 *Paramatthadīpanī on Theragāthā*, i. p. 442. Sinhalese Edition.

8 *Apadāna*, p. 190.

9 *Thera-Therīgathā*, p. 42.

while the Third Buddhist Council was in session [1]. There is hardly any doubt with regard to the time when he flourished; for, while he was in his teens, he fled from his house fearing arrest when his father Subandhu, a distinguished brahmin scholar who was specially noted for his astuteness and political wisdom, was arrested and sentenced to penal servitude for life by the emperor Candragupta Maurya, acting under the advice of his prime minister Cāṇakya [2].

Prior to the establishment of the Mauryan supremacy in Western India, Surāṣṭra was altogether independent of the northern powers being governed by her own laws and the constitution framed by her own assembly, or *Saṅgha*, as revealed by the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya [3]. But a new epoch began in her history, when thraldom was imposed on her by Candragupta Maurya and she became a wheel of the imperialistic machinery, moving in the same grooves as the other states which were once independent. The highest executive head, whether a Puṣyagupta or a Tuṣāspha, was no longer the representative of the people but of the crown, to whom he was directly responsible for the efficient organization and control of such matters as are of vital importance to the bureaucracy: defence, land-revenue, irrigation, tending to both prosperity and security of the newly -acquired country. What had remained thereafter in the hands of the people of Surāṣṭra,—a few self-governing institutions of purely local character—cannot possibly amount to autonomy in its real sense. Prince Piṅgala was, thus, the ruler of a subject nation which had lost its political liberty and had forfeited the right of self-determination. Such figures were too common in early times as they are now. But our interest lies in him, not because he was once the zealous supporter of a doctrine not heard of before, but because he is the only feudatory of the emperor Aśoka, whose name has come to our notice so far.

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[1] *Paramatthadīpanī on Theragāthā*, i. p. 442 (*ll.* 22-23). Sinhalese Edition.

[2] *ibid.*, p. 440. Evidently, the brahmin minister was afraid of his own fame and reputation as a politician being eclipsed by the superior knowledge of another brahmin in statecraft!

[3] *Arthaśāstra*, ed. R. Shama Sastry, 3rd Ed., p. 378. Mysore 1924. (*Saṅghalābho daṇḍamitralābhānāmuttamaḥ . . . . . . Kāmbhoja-Surāṣṭrakṣatriyaśreṇyādayo vārtāśastropajīvinaḥ.*)

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF ANCIENT BENGAL

By R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Dacca*

A proper study of the history of any country requires a knowledge of its general physical features, at least those which may be regarded as likely to have some effect on shaping its destinies. So far as ancient Bengal is concerned, the main changes in its physical features at different ages have been caused by the shifting of the beds of its rivers and the erotion and accretion, mainly in the deltaic region, caused by the courses of those rivers. I propose in this paper to draw attention to some of these changes in river-beds which must have effected the course of history.

In order to have a general view of the nature and extent of such changes in Bengal it is only necessary to compare a modern map of Bengal with that drawn up by Rennell as a result of the survey operations carried on by him between 1764 and 1777. Special attention may be drawn to the following points:

1. The Brahmaputra river after having skirted along the Gāro Hills on the west took a south-eastern course from Dewānganja and passing by Sherpur (where the Jamuna or Jeun branched off from it), Bygonbary, Kishorganj, through the district of Mymensingh to the east of Madhupur jungle, and along the eastern part of Dacca district, joined the Meghnā near Sunerampur in the Tippera district. About twenty-five miles above this junction a small branch flowed almost due south which divided itself into two near Simuliya. One of this is the Lakhiā river which joined the Dhaleswari near Narainganj (as it does even now), and the other, a smaller river, is shown as the old bed of the Brahmaputra. This flowed almost parallel to Lakhiā, and passing by Sonārgaon, fell into the Dhaleswari a little to the east of its junction with the Lakhiā. This old bed of the Brahmaputra can still be traced, and the famous bathing place, known as Lāngalbund, on the bed of this dying river, is even now resorted to by thousands of pilgrims once every year.

2. The Tistā flowed due south from Jalpaiguri. About six miles above the Latitude of 26° the Karatoyā branched off from its left side and eleven miles below 26° Lat. the Punarbhavā branched off to the right. Below this latter junction the main stream is shown as the Ātrāi. In other words, the waters of the Tistā flowed through three channels, viz., the Karatoyā to the east, the Punarbhavā to the west, and the Ātrāi in the centre. This evidently

explains the name of the river Trisrotā (three-streams) which has now been abbreviated into Tistā.

The Ātrāi flowed at first due south by Dinajpur, Puttyram, Conchon, and Jangipur, and then south-east through Chalan-Jhil, till it met the Karatoyā south of Shajadpur, and the combined waters fell into the Padmā near Jaffargunge. The Baral river, branching off from the Padmā at Sardah, served as a cross current and joined the Ātrāi at Chalan-Jhil.

The Karatoyā river flowed first south and then south-east by Ghoraghat (a little above 25° Lat.), Shibgunje, Mustangar and Bogra and met the Ātrāi river to the south of Shajadpur.

The Punarbhavā flowed south-south-east and passing by Kāntanagar, Rājganja and Rohanpur fell into the Mahananda about twenty miles south-east of Maldah.

Rennell's map however shows a small rivulet as Tistā c (=creek) which branched off from the Tistā on its left about ten miles below Jalpaiguri, and flowing south-east in a zigzag course through the district of Rangpur fell into the Brahmaputra near Kaliganja. It is particularly noteworthy that this fairly represents the course of the Tistā river at the present day.

3. The courses of the Padmā and the Bhāgīrathī, specially in their lower parts were very different. These will be discussed later in details.

Fortunately we have fairly accurate data regarding the changes that took place in the course of the Tistā and the Brahmaputra since the date of Rennell's survey.

As regards the Tistā we have a definite statement made by Hunter that 'in the destructive floods of 1194 B.S. or 1787 A.D. the Tistā suddenly forsook its channel and running south-east joined the Brahmaputra [1]'. It is, however, just possible that the present channel of the Tistā (which has not materially changed since 1787) was itself an old bed of the Tistā. For Van der Broucke's map of Bengal represents the Tistā as an affluent of the Brahmaputra, and Rennell's 'Tistā Creek', as noted above, represents the modern channel of the river.

As regards the river Brahmaputra, the prevailing idea was that in 1787 A.D. it suddenly deserted its old bed and forced a new channel through the old Jamuna, and this was ascribed to the change in the course of the Tistā river described above. Major F. C. Hirst [2] has, however, refuted this theory. He points out that Lieut. T.

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[1] Hunter—Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. VII, p. 165.

[2] Major F. C. Hirst—Report on the Nadia Rivers, 1915 (published by the Government of Bengal, 1916)—App. A.

Fisher, who was employed on survey work in Sylhet between 1824 and 1830 A.D., was ordered in 1824 to examine the old course of the Brahmaputra from the Jenai to Daodkandi in Tippera and report why the former was drying up. Thus it was not till about forty years after the change in the course of the Tistā that the old bed of the Brahmaputra was found to have deteriorated sufficiently to have caused serious comment and inconvenience. From this fact as well as the statements of Sir John Hooker and Buchanan Hamilton Major Hirst has arrived at the following conclusion:

'These facts seem to show that between 1787 and perhaps 1820 the new channel of the Brahmaputra, the old Jenai (Jamuna), increased in importance so slowly and gradually that the old bed near Mymensingh was not seriously affected. From about 1820 the gradual increase in the Jenai was sufficient to affect the old channel seriously. By 1850, or some 63 years after the Tistā flood of 1787, the Jenai had become the main channel of the Brahmaputra and it is still the main channel.'

We may now proceed to discuss the changes in the course of the river Ganges, with special reference to its main branches, the Bhāgīrathī and the Padmā. As regards the portion above the point of bifurcation of these two, the Ganges formerly flowed past Maldah but the bed was later shifted considerably to the west.

As regards the courses of the rivers Bhāgīrathī and the Padmā, i.e. the two main branches below the junction, the considered opinion of the scientific experts who have recently investigated into the matter will be found in the report of a Committee appointed by the Government of Bengal. The Committee was presided over by C. J. Stevenson Moore and the report was published in 1919.[1]

Beginning with the Bhāgīrathī which it considers as the Ganges proper the Committee traces its early course as follows:

'At Tribeni (near Hooghly) the Ganges divided into three streams: (1) The Sarasvatī flowing south-west past Sātgāon and emerging into the present Hooghly at Sankrail, with a main branch running past Amta into Dāmodar and probably also the Rupnārāyan and so into lower Hooghly; (2) the Jabunā following the direction south-east along the present route; (3) a middle branch which was the Bhāgīrathī proper flowing south along the present Hooghly channel to Calcutta and then through Tolly's Nullah to the sea before reaching which it split up into a number of branches one running into the lower Hooghly at Diamond Harbour. This view is supported by Chand Sadagar's voyage along the Bhāgīrathī

[1] Report on the Hooghly River and its Head-waters, Vol. I, by C. J. Stevenson Moore and others (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1919).

(acc. to Kavikankan—A.D. 1577) past villages Tribeni, Khardah, Konnagar, Kutrang, Kalighat, Baruipur and Magra.

'The main Bhāgīrathī channel of the Ganges gradually deteriorated, and presumably the branches which must have run to the eastward into the delta improved correspondingly, until it is surmised that about the beginning of the 16th century the main stream definitely took a south-eastern direction. It then (under the name Padmā) probably followed the course defined by Sherwill and Rennell past Rampur Boalia through the Chalan-Jhil, Dhaleswari and Burigangā rivers past Dacca into the Meghna.'

This somewhat lengthy statement explains the views of the present scientific experts regarding the course of the Ganges river and its affluents. These views are based on a study of the river-beds and the accounts of the European travellers. I shall now proceed to discuss some of the important points dealt with above with the help of historical documents which the Committee does not appear to have taken into consideration.

I shall begin with the most important and interesting, but at the same time the most intriguing, problem of the river Padmā. Diametrically opposite views have been expressed about its antiquity. The late Sir William Willcocks, in a lecture delivered before the Calcutta University in 1930, held the view that the Padmā has always been the main channel of the Ganges, whereas the Bhāgīrathī and the other rivers in central Bengal were originally really canals excavated by the old Hindu rulers of Bengal for the purposes of overflow irrigation. On the other hand the Stevenson Moore Committee held that the Bhāgīrathī was the main channel of the Ganges till the sixteenth century A.D. when the main stream took a south-easterly direction along the Padmā.

Sir William's view is disproved by the testimony of Ptolemy and other foreign writers, and is opposed to literary and epigraphic evidence. The whole course of the Ganges from the Himalaya to the sea has been referred to as the Bhāgīrathī in Sanskrit literature, and we possess many inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. which refer to the upper course of the Ganges beyond Bengal as the Bhāgīrathī. This name is, however, never applied to the Padmā. Thus Bhāgīrathī is not the name of merely that portion of the river which is in Bengal as Willcocks assumed. On the other hand the common name leads to the presumption that the Bhāgīrathī was regarded as the main channel of the Ganges. Further the copperplates of the Sena and Chandra periods in the history of Bengal refer to the Bhāgīrathī channel as the Ganges[1] whereas

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[1] Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, by N. G. Majumdar, p. 97.

the Padmā is referred to as Padmā.[1] The poem Pavanadūtam, composed by Dhoyī in the twelfth century A.D., also refers to the Bhāgīrathī river as the Ganges and states that the river Jamuna issued from it in the Suhma country (verse 33).

Besides there has always been a sanctity attached to the Bhāgīrathī which is not the case with the Padmā. The Naihati copperplate of Vallālasena proves that the Bhāgīrathī was regarded as the 'heavenly river' or the Ganges and the queen-mother performed a great religious ceremony on its banks on the occasion of the solar eclipse.[2] The Govindapur copperplate of Lakṣmaṇasena not only proves that the Hooghly river was called Jāhnavī (Gaṅgā), but that it flowed by the village of Betaḍ in the Howrah district, i.e. very nearly in its present course near Calcutta, in the twelfth century A.D.[3]

That the Bhāgīrathī was originally the main channel of the Ganges appears also from a study of the ports of Bengal. The Chinese accounts and ancient Indian literature prove definitely that at least up to the end of the seventh century A.D. Tāmralipti was the principal port of Bengal whence ships sailed towards the south and south-east across the Bay of Bengal. This Tāmralipti is represented by modern Tamluk. Ptolemy places it on the bank of the river Ganges.[4] According to Hiuen Tsang it 'was near an inlet of the sea'.[5] It may be easily presumed, therefore, that from the second to the seventh century A.D. the main branch of the Ganges reached the sea near present Tamluk. This is in agreement with the conclusions of the Stevenson Moore Committee, *viz.*, that the main branch of the Sarasvatī flowed south-west from Tribeni past Sātgaon and Amta into the Dāmodar and probably also the Rupnārāyan. In other words the Sarasvatī branch of the Ganges flowed into an estuary near modern Tamluk and both the Rupnārāyan and the Dāmodar poured their waters into the Sarasvatī (or in the case of the Dāmodar, perhaps into the Bhāgīrathī above Tribeni, as noted below) above this confluence. It may be added that for all we know the Sarasvatī might have been the only large channel at the beginning and its splitting up into the three main streams at Tribeni at a later date caused the westernmost

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[1] Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, by N. G. Majumdar, p. 167.

[2] Ibid., p. 74.

[3] Ibid., pp. 94, 97. If the village of Betaḍ is represented by Bator (Shibpur) it is possible that the course later known as the Sarasvatī was then the main channel of the Bhāgīrathī. Bator is marked on De Barros' map on the Hooghly river a little above its junction with the Sarasvatī.

[4] McCrindle—Ptolemy, p. 167.

[5] Watters—On Yuan Chwang, p. 190.

branch to change its course. Some time after the seventh century the Sarasvatī shifted towards the east and Tamluk thereby ceased to be the important port of Bengal. But its place was ultimately taken up by Sātgaon a little higher up the same river. This change must have taken place by the thirteenth century A.D. at the latest, as Sātgaon became the first Muslim capital of Lower Bengal and was already a flourishing town early in the fourteenth century A.D.[1] This view is also corroborated by the proposed identification of Ibn Baṭūtah's Sadkawan with Sātgaon.

We come next to the evidence of Tabakat-i-Nasiri composed during the second half of the thirteenth century A.D. It refers to the two main divisions of Bengal, *viz.*, Rāḍha and Varendra on the western and the eastern sides of the Ganges.[2] This hardly leaves any doubt that he takes the Bhāgīrathī as the main branch of the Ganges. It is interesting to note that there is no reference to the Padmā in this work, though we must not attach undue importance to negative evidence of this kind. But on the whole it may be presumed on the strength of Tabakat-i-Nasiri that in the thirteenth century A.D. the Bhāgīrathī was the main channel of the Ganges.

The view that the Padmā did not exist as a big river during the Hindu period (i.e. up to 1200 A.D.) is indirectly supported by two considerations. First, the territorial division in ancient Bengal called Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti comprised both Northern and Southern Bengal. This would probably not have been the case if a mighty river separated the two. Secondly, Hiuen Tsang, in course of his travels over Bengal and Assam, refers to the two big rivers he crossed *viz.*, the Ganges which he crossed near Rajmahal in order to reach Northern Bengal, and a large river (probably the Karatoyā) which he crossed over to Kāmarūpa (Assam). But although he later travelled from Kāmarūpa to Samataṭa, i.e. Eastern Bengal, and from Samataṭa to Tāmralipti, he does not refer to any other big river. It may, therefore, be presumed that from the earliest times within the historical period the Bhāgīrathī was regarded as the main branch of the Ganges.

This does not, however, disprove the existence of the Padmā river, as a great stream, at a fairly early period. For, even when the main water of the Ganges began to flow along the Padmā, people would cling to the old religious beliefs about the sanctity of the old channel. This is forcibly illustrated by the attitude of the Hindus to-day towards the Tolly's Nullah (Ādi-Gaṅgā) near

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[1] R. D. Banerji—Bāṅglār Itihāsa, Vol. II, p. 94.

[2] Raverty—Tabakat-i-Nasiri, pp. 584-5.

Kalighat and the old dying bed of the Brahmaputra at Lāngalbund near Narainganj. Further, although the Padmā has been the main channel of the Ganges for more than three hundred years at the least, the old belief about the sanctity of the Bhāgīrathī channel has not been transferred to the Padmā even to the slightest extent. Thus although we must hold that the Bhāgīrathī was the main channel of the Ganges at an earlier period, the date when this channel was diverted and the Padmā began to carry the main water of the Ganges may be very remote.

The existence of the Padmā river at a very early date may be assumed on the strength of the following evidences:

1. Ptolemy mentions five mouths of the Ganges, the distance between the two extremes being about four degrees of Latitude. This very nearly represents the actual state of things at the present day, as the distance between Tamluk and Chittagong (which almost all ancient writers regard near the eastern mouth of the Ganges) would be about four degrees.[1]

Further the third mouth of the Ganges is called by Ptolemy Kamberikon and this has been identified by all scholars with the Kumāra river. This shows that Ptolemy's knowledge of the mouths of the Ganges was derived from reliable sources.

2. The Edilpur copperplate of Śrī-Chandra who reigned in or before the eleventh century A.D. refers to the district Satata-Padmāvatī[2] and the *maṇḍala* Kumāra-tālaka situated within it. The first undoubtedly refers to the river Padmā, as '*Sataṭa*' indicates, and the latter very probably refers to the Kumāra river. This would prove the existence of the two rivers in the tenth or eleventh century A.D.

3. Old Indian traditions refer to the Padmā as a branch of the Ganges. The legend explaining the origin of the river Padmā at the time when the Ganges followed Bhāgīrathī into Southern Bengal is found in Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa,[3] Vṛihaddharma Purāṇa[4] and Kṛttivāsa's Rāmāyaṇa.[5] Another legend explaining the origin of the Ganges and the Padmā rivers as due to a curse of a Goddess is to be found in Devī-Bhāgavatam.[6] The dates of these books are not known with certainty, but a legend recorded in these sacred

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[1] McCrindle—Ptolemy, pp. 72–4.

[2] Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 190.

[3] Ch. 70 (p. 175 of Gujrati Edition).

[4] Bibliotheca Indica Edn., p. 409.

[5] Cf. Rāmāyaṇa Ādikānda. Ed. by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali (published by the University of Dacca), p. 99.

[6] Baṅgavāsī Edn., p. 392.

books must be presumed to embody old traditions of the Hindu period.

We may thus be tolerably sure that the Padmā river existed from a very early period, but it is difficult to fix the date when the main water of the Ganges began to flow through this channel.

Now the evidence of Portuguese travellers leaves no doubt that this date cannot be later than the sixteenth century A.D. De Barros' map of Bengal (*c.* 1550 A.D.) shows the Padmā to be the main channel. Manrique describing his voyage to Hooghly in 1628 says 'we entered the mouth of the large and far-famed old Ganges'.[1] This point need not be laboured any further, but there is no doubt that the name Ganges was applied to the Padmā by Abul Fazl and the foreign travellers of the sixteenth century A.D., and the latter was regarded as the main channel of the river.

We have then the account of Ibn Baṭūtah, who visited Bengal in the fourteenth century A.D., which runs as follows: 'The first city of Bengal which we entered was called Sadkawan, a big place on the shore of the Great Sea. The river Ganges to which the Hindus go on pilgrimage and the river Jun unite in that neighbourhood before falling into the sea'. Yule identifies Sadkawan with Chaṭṭagrāma (Chittagong), the Ganges with the Padmā, and the Jun with the Jamuna, the present main channel of the Brahmaputra. If these identifications are accepted we have to push back the date of the diversion of the main water of the Ganges through the Padmā by a further period of two hundred years. Unfortunately the identifications are very problematic. There are equally good grounds to hold that Sadkawan represents the Saptagrām (Sātgaon) near Hooghly,[2] and in that case the Ganges and the Jun must certainly refer to the Bhāgīrathī and the Jamuna which branched off from it at Tribeni, near Saptagrāma. Yule's principal argument in identifying Sadkawan with Chittagong is its description as 'a big place on the shore of the Great Sea', which applies far better to Chittagong than to Sātgaon. But it must be pointed out that even in some maps of the seventeenth century A.D. Sātgaon is shown as almost close to the sea-shore. It may be that the large volume of the tidal course of the stream which led to Sātgaon is responsible for the error. In any case Ibn Baṭūtah's evidence cannot be relied upon as an evidence in favour of the Padmā being the main channel. It would thus appear that by the sixteenth century A.D. at the latest, the Padmā was regarded as the main channel of the Ganges; but while

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[1] Bengal, Past and Present, 1916 (April-June), p. 214.
[2] R. D. Banerji—*op. cit.*, p. 106.

this must be regarded as the lower limit, we are not equally certain that it shall be regarded as the upper limit also.

The Stevenson Moore Committee observes as follows on this question:

'From these facts—the deteriorated condition of the Sarasvatī at the beginning of the sixteenth century and the absence of any traceable allusion at that date to any former large branches of the Ganges other than the modern Hooghly channel on this side,—the assumption seems to be justified that the main changes of the Ganges course to the south-east which had probably been some time in course of formation was definitely effected by the end of the fifteenth century.'

We may now refer to the main changes in the courses of the two principal branches of the Ganges, *viz.*, the Bhāgīrathī and the Padmā.

Reference has already been made to the three branches of the former which separated at Tribeni, *viz.*, the Sarasvatī on the west, the Jamuna on the east and the Hooghly in the centre. The earlier course of the Sarasvatī has also been noted in connection with the history of the two ports, Tamluk and Sātgaon. It appears that the Sarasvatī continued to be the main channel of the Bhāgīrathī till the sixteenth century A.D., when the main water of the Bhāgīrathī began to flow through the Hooghly channel. This is definitely proved by the Portuguese evidence. The Portuguese chose Hooghly for their settlement (*c.* 1580 A.D.) in lieu of Sātgaon because they had noticed that the main stream no longer flowed through the Sarasvatī. We have a definite statement made by Caesar Fredrick that in 1565 A.D. the Sarasvatī above Bator (Shibpur) was very shallow and hence only small ships could go to Sātgaon.

The cause of this decay of the Sarasvatī has been generally attributed to the construction of an artificial canal connecting the Hooghly channel (below Calcutta) through Garden Reach with the Sarasvatī at Sankrail. The result was that the main water of the Hooghly began to flow through this canal and enlarged it while the upper course of the Sarasvatī above Sankrail and the lower course of the Hooghly (Tolly's Nullah) began to decay. Rennell's map shows both Tolly's Nullah and the Sarasvatī above Sankrail as practically extinct rivers, and so these important changes must have been effected by the middle of the eighteenth century at the latest.

The eastern branch of the Bhāgīrathī, *viz.*, the Jamuna, also was a dying river in Rennell's time. The lower portion of the river alone is called Jubna in Rennell's map, the upper part being named Isamutty (Issamet) river.

It is necessary to say a few words in this connection to the two great tributaries of the Bhāgīrathī on the west, *viz.*, the Dāmodar and the Rupnārāyan. The changes in the course of the Dāmodar river below Burdwan have been very considerable. According to Van der Broucke's map of Bengal dated 1660 A.D. the Dāmodar, or at least a major branch of it, flowed almost due east of Burdwan and fell into the Hooghly near Kalna. This course is indicated in Rennell's map by a small rivulet and is also referred to in *Manasār Bhāsān* by Kṣemānanda Dās (*c.* 1640 A.D.). Next the Dāmodar flowed at first south-east from Burdwan for about forty miles and then north-east for about twenty-five miles till it fell into the Bhāgīrathī about seven or eight miles above Hooghly. This course is shown as the old bed of the Dāmodar in Rennell's map. The main channel of the Dāmodar as shown in Rennell's map very nearly represents the present course of the river which, deserting the old bed at Salimabad, about 15 miles south-east of Burdwan, and flowing almost due south, joins the Hooghly channel below Fulta.

The Rupnārāyan is shown in Rennell's map as following very nearly the present course with a number of cross channels connecting it with the Dāmodar. As has already been stated above in connection with Tamluk, the lower course of the Rupnārāyan probably represents an earlier course of the Sarasvatī when it was the main channel of the Bhāgīrathī.

The course of the Padmā river has shifted more considerably. According to the Stevenson Moore Committee it first flowed past Rampur Boalia, through Chalan-Jhil, the Dhaleswari and Buriganga rivers past Dacca into the Meghnā.[1] This is the course shown in De Barros' map (*c.* 1550 A.D.) in which Dacca is distinctly located on the northern bank of the river. The town of Sonārgaon, correctly placed to the south-east of Dacca, is shown on the

[1] I do not know on what grounds the Committee came to this conclusion. But in addition to the evidence of De Barros' map referred to in the text, and the statement of Tavernier quoted in the following footnote, reference may be made to the Maṭh Inscription of Mahendra, son of Harischandra of Sabhar, where the Ganges is said to be the Southern boundary of Bhāvalīna (Bhawal) situated between the rivers Vaṁsāvatī and the Brahmaputra. Here the Ganges undoubtedly refers to the river now known as Dhaleswari. The date of the inscription is not definitely known but it is not perhaps later than the fourteenth century A.D. The inscription, therefore, constitutes an important evidence in favour of the view that the Dhaleswari was the earlier channel of the Ganges. (For the text of the inscription and discussion about its date cf. Dacca Review, Sept.-Oct. 1920, pp. 111–116; January 1921, pp. 175–182). If we could have been sure of the date of the inscription we might have set a lower limit to the date when the main water of the Ganges flowed through the Padmā. But as the date is uncertain it is useless to speculate on this point.

southern bank of the Padmā. Further beyond, to the south-east, the river called Caor fell into the Padmā near a town called Bander or the Port. Beyond this junction the river-bed is shown as much wider which skirts along the northern side of good many islands till it reaches the open sea near Chittagong. This configuration of the estuary is fully in keeping with the accounts of the foreign travellers from the fifteenth century onwards, who regard Chittagong as the grand port where people desirous of going to the interior of Bengal changed from sea-vessels into smaller boats.

The description of the river Padmavatī as given in Tavernier's account and Baharistān-i-Ghaybi also seems to indicate the course of the Padmā in the seventeenth century A.D. to be along the Dhaleswari channel or a parallel channel not very far from it, such as the Isamutty.[1] In the latter half of the eighteenth century A.D., at the time of Major Rennell's survey, the lower course of the Padmā flowed much further to the south. Running almost due south from Jaffargunge (where it was met by the Jamuna (Jum) and the combined waters of the Ātrāi and Karatoyā) and south-east from Faridpore, right through the modern districts of Faridpur and Bākarganj, it joined the Meghnā just above the island of Dakhin Shabajpur, about twenty-five miles due south, as the crow flies, from Chandpur. Rājanagar, the famous residential city of Rajbullubh, was then on its left or eastern bank and near by this city flowed the river Kāligaṅgā which connected the Padmā with Meghnā. Later, in the nineteenth century A.D., the main water of the Padmā flowed through this channel, which came to be known as Kirtināsā, and gradually the course of the Padmā assumed very nearly its present position. It would, therefore, appear that, while the Dhaleswari (with Buriganga) probably represents the earliest and most northerly course of the Padmā river, the Arialkhan river represents its most southerly course, attained in the eighteenth century. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the mighty river is again moving steadily towards its old bed in the north.

The river called Caor in De Barros' map deserves a passing notice. From its position in the map it seems to represent the

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[1] I have discussed the data of Baharistān-i-Ghaybi in detail in Appendix I. Its author and Tavernier both place Jatrapur (now on the Ichamati river) on or very near the bank of the Padmā. Tavernier definitely says that at Jatrapur the Ganges,—the name by which he refers to the Padmā—'divides into three branches, one of which goes to Dacca'. (Ball's Trans., p. 104.) There is no doubt that this branch must have roughly corresponded to the present Isamutty or Dhaleswari river. In Van der Broucke's map also Jatrapur is shown on the Padmā, but it is located due south of Dacca, at a considerable distance, whereas it is really about 30 miles west of Dacca. Hence the lower course of the Padmā river in that map is altogether unreliable.

Brahmaputra. It is, however, shown to be a much smaller river than the Padmā even at the point where it joins the latter. This in a way supports the view of the modern experts that 'the Brahmaputra was originally a comparatively small river, but since her connection with the Tsan Po of Tibet through her tributary the Dihong (in Upper Assam) and subsequent additions of the floods of the Tistā (since 1787) she has been a formidable rival of the Ganges'.[1] On the other hand the name Caor rather reminds us of the Karatoyā. As has been already noted above, formerly the water of the Tistā flowing through the Karatoyā and the Ātrāi mingled together and fell into the Padmā. It is not unlikely that this combined river flowed further to the south-east than at present and joined the Brahmaputra. In M. Van der Broucke's map of Bengal (1660) the Karatoyā is distinctly marked as a great river and as connected with the Brahmaputra. The fact that the river Caor is shown flowing almost due north-south through the 'Reino de Comotah' (kingdom of Kamta corresponding to Rangpur and Coochbehar) also supports its identification with the Karatoyā. The river, which is shown as flowing south-west from the hills and joining the Caor on its left bank below Kamta, may then represent the upper course of the Brahmaputra. While it would be unwise to place too much reliance on the correctness of De Barros' map or other Portuguese maps in respect of the interior of Bengal, we must keep in view the possibilities hinted at above until more definite evidence is forthcoming. Hunter bears testimony to the fact that the people who lived on the bank of the Karatoyā say that their river is the old Brahmaputra.[2]

That the Karatoyā was once a big river and invested with some amount of sanctity, appears clearly from literature. In Laghubhārata 'the broad and sacred river Karatoyā (*vṛihatparisarā puṇya Karatoyā mahānadī*)' is said to have formed the boundary between Gauḍa and Vaṅga. There is also a Karatoyā-Māhātmya. The special importance of the Karatoyā lies in the fact that on its bank stood the city of Puṇḍra-vardhana, which gave its name to the big territorial division (*bhukti*) which at one time stretched from the Himalaya to the sea and comprised the present Rajshahi, Presidency and a considerable part of the Dacca Divisions. The city of Puṇḍra-vardhana is as old as the Maurya period. Its ruins lie at Mahāsthāngarh a few miles from Bogra, and the decaying

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[1] River-problems in Bengal by S. C. Majumdar (Proceedings of the National Institute of Sciences of India, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 444-5.)

[2] Dr. Hunter—Statistical Account of Bogra (quoted in J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 9).

Karatoyā still passes by that place.[1] Thus the course of this river in this region may be regarded as a fixed point in the shifting quicksands of Bengal rivers.

It is interesting in this connection to consider the views of modern experts on the changes in the course of rivers in North Bengal. They generally agree that the river Kusi (Sanskrit Kauśikā) which now flows through the district of Purnea into the Ganges much higher up above Rajmahal originally ran east-west and fell into the Brahmaputra. The channel of the river must have, therefore, been steadily shifting towards the west right across the whole breadth of northern Bengal and even further beyond.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton says: [2]

'I have already mentioned a tradition which states that the Kusi, on reaching the plains, instead of running almost directly south to join the Ganges, as it does at present, formerly proceeded from Catra (87°E.×27°N.) to the eastward, and joined the Ganges far below, and many channels are still shown by the populace as having been formerly occupied by its immense stream and are still called Burhi-, the old, or Marā-, the dead Kosi. The change seems to have been very gradual and to be in a measure still going on.

'The Paṇḍits inhabiting its banks allege that in times of remote antiquity the Kusi passed southward by where Tajpur is now situated, and from thence towards the east until it joined the Brahmaputra, having no communication with the Ganges.

'The opinion seems highly probable, I think it not unlikely, that the great lakes north and east from Maldah are remains of the Kusi united to the Mahānandā, and that on the junction of the former river with the Ganges the united mass of water opened up the passage now called the Padmā, and the old channel of the Bhāgīrathī from Songti to Nadiya was then left comparatively dry.'

Mr. Fergusson agrees with the above view and regards it as 'probable that the Oorasagar is the mouth by which the combined waters of the Coosy, the Mahanuddu (Mahananda) and the Atree (Ātrāi) were originally discharged into the Assam river, i.e. the present Brahmaputra'.[3] Dr. W. W. Hunter also supports Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's theory and observes[4]: 'Dr. Buchanan's suggestion of the union with the Brahmaputra seems less improbable than other parts of his theory.

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[1] I follow here the generally accepted view about the identification of Puṇḍravardhana with Mahāsthān. This view is, however, not accepted by all.

[2] Martin—Eastern India, Vol. III, p. 15.

[3] Quar. Jour. Geo. Soc. (quoted in J.A.S.B., 1896, pp. 4-5).

[4] Statistical Account of Bengal, Purnea, 1877 (quoted in J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 5).

'The course of the Brahmaputra appears in early days to have run far to the East of the District of Maimansingh. The Kusi also in its eastward course would first meet the Karatoyā, then a vast river having the Ātrāi and Tistā for its affluents. In my account of the district of Bogra, I have mentioned the very great importance of this river during early Hindu times, both on account of its great volume and its sanctity, and I have stated that it marks an ethnical frontier clearly defined to the present day. If we assume that the Kusi and the Mahānandā formerly joined the Karatoyā, we have at once an explanation of the great size the latter river once undoubtedly had, and we shall also be able to account for the process by which the great sandy plain was built up between the Barendra of Rajshahi and the Madhupur jungle of Maimansingh, through which the Brahmaputra made its way at the beginning of this century. The ethnical frontier which begins to be uncertain in Dinajpur District will be completed by adopting the above course for the Kusi. On the left bank we shall have the Koch peoples still found in such numbers in the Kissengunge Subdivision of Purneah District and in the North of Dinajpur, on the same side of the river would be the kingdom of Kirat, Kichak, and Kamrup. The presence of a great river in the South of Dinajpur would also account for the success with which the Ruler of Hakim, as he was called, of that country resisted the arms of Mussalman sovereigns of Gaur. The ancient name of the Kusi and the one by which it is still known in Sanscrit books is Kauśikā. It is interesting to observe that a river nymph of this name is known if not worshipped on the banks of the Karatoyā.'

Mr. Shillingford in his masterly survey of the changes in the course of the Kosi [1] supports the above views by more technical arguments and regards the different suggestions made above as indicating the different beds of the Kusi river. The earliest and the easternmost bed would be that indicated by Hunter according to which the Kusi, flowing through the Tajpur Parganah would continue its easterly course and meet the Karatoyā. Next is that suggested by Fergusson that the Kusi discharged its water through Ātrāi and Urasagar into the Brahmaputra. The next channel of the Kusi, as suggested by Hamilton, would flow south from Tajpur Parganah, pass through the Kalindri, a deep and wide channel still known as the Marā Kusi, and would strike direct against the northern suburbs of Gaur. Shillingford regards this new channel of the Kusi as causing the swamps and floods that ruined the city of Gaur. He observes: 'With the Kusi flowing to the north and east and the

[1] J.A.S.B., 1896, pp. 1ff.

Ganges washing its western walls, it is easy to understand how the city became pestilential and uninhabitable. Gaur was finally abandoned in favour of Rajmahal as the seat of government in 1592, or about the time the Kusi is supposed to have flowed along this channel, and the numerous marshes near Maldah would form a necessary concomitant to the Kusi in this position'.

As regards the changes in the rivers in the deltaic region lying between the Hooghly and the Padmā rivers, it is unnecessary to refer to them in details.[1] The Kumār and the Bhairab are supposed to have been the oldest rivers in this area but their beds having later been crossed by the rivers like the Jalanghi, Māthābhāngā, Nabagaṅgā, Gorāi and the Madhumati they are now practically dead rivers. The antiquity of the Kumār goes back, as we have seen, to the second century A.D. We possess no reliable account of the rivers of this region before the sixteenth century A.D., but since that date all the available data[2] show a number of rivers flowing over the area carrying the waters of the Hooghly and the Padmā through long winding channels to the sea. To this must be added the two other characteristic features, *viz.*, the creeks and estuaries formed by the mouths of these rivers near the sea, and the numerous small islands formed by the change of river-beds, particularly in the Meghnā estuary. Very important changes in the river courses have taken place even during the last hundred years. It may be presumed that the rapid shifting of river-courses and the other characteristic features noted above have marked this region since the earliest time.

An important problem regarding the physical characteristics of the deltaic region concerns the Sundarbans. Two diametrically opposite views have been entertained on this subject. According to the first, chiefly held by the Indians, the Sundarbans were once a populous region, but depopulated by ravages of nature and men.[3] This is denied by Beveridge,[4] Blochmann,[5] Westland,[6] and other writers who maintain that the physical aspects and general condition of the Sundarbans have not changed much in course of time. The extant remains such as tanks, *ghāts*, short roads, kilns of bricks, brickbuilt houses, and temples, *etc.* are regarded by some as indis-

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[1] Cf. (i) Hirst—Report on the Nadia Rivers.
(ii) Westland—Report on Jessore, pp. 5–14.

[2] An account of the river-system in this region is given in the Baharistan-i-Ghaybi.

[3] Satis Ch. Mitra—Yasohar O Khulnār Itihash, Ch. VIII.

[4] District of Bakarganj—pp. 169ff.

[5] J.A.S.B., 1873, pp. 231ff.

[6] Report on Jessore, pp. 231ff.

putable proofs of extensive cultivation and human habitation in former times, while others explain them as 'mere attempts at colonization'. A final and decisive conclusion on the question seems to be impossible at the present state of our knowledge, but a few important facts bearing on this point may be noted.

So far as the early period is concerned we have to take note of both positive and negative evidences. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who usually refers to mountains and forests that fell in his way, travelled from Samataṭa (roughly speaking, the districts of Faridpur, Bākarganj and Comilla, *etc.*) to Tāmralipti, modern Tamluk, but does not refer to the dense impenetrable Sundarbans, which he must either have passed through, or avoided deliberately by long detours. His silence raises a presumption in favour of the view that the Sundarbans were not as inaccessible and depopulated as at present.

The Sena copperplates in the twelfth century A.D. refer to Khāḍi-viṣaya and Khāḍi-maṇḍala. The *viṣaya* is a territorial division corresponding roughly to modern district, and *maṇḍala* sometimes denoted a bigger and sometimes a lower territorial unit than *viṣaya*. In any case there is no doubt that Khāḍi, which thus comprised a large area, is to be identified with the Khāḍi *parganā* in the Sundarbans (Diamond Harbour Subdivisions [1]). The Sena copperplates of the thirteenth century A.D. refer to grant of homestead lands on the very sea-coast, in a portion of Vaṅga which is called *nāvya*, i.e. generally accessible by boats.[2] Here also the reference seems to be to the southern part of the Sundarbans.[3]

Coming down to later times Blochmann has attempted to prove from the rent-rolls of Todar Mal recorded in Āin-i-Ākbari that the northern outskrit of the Sundarbans about 1582 A.D.[4] was nearly the same as to-day. But this merely proves the extent of active political authority exercised by the Mughal rulers, and does not necessarily prove the point at issue, *viz.*, the extent to which the Sundarbans were populated. For, from the very nature of the case,

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[1] Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, by N. G. Majumdar, pp. 60, 170.

[2] Ibid., p. 146.

[3] Beveridge remarks: 'I may also notice here that the copperplate inscription found at Idilpur in Bakarganj and described by Babu Pratap Chandra Ghose in the Asiatic Society's Journal (1838) seems to indicate that the inhabitants of that part of the country belonged to a degraded tribe called Chandabhandas, a fact which is not favourable to the supposition of the Sundarbans having been at an early period inhabited by a high caste population' (District of Bakarganj, p. 173). It is hardly necessary to point out that there is no reference to 'Chandabhanda' in the Idilpur plate. It was a wrong reading of the well-known compound 'chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa'.

[4] J.A.S.B., 1873, pp. 227ff.

these comparatively inaccessible regions, protected by rivers, creeks and forests, might have defined the Mughals much longer than the open areas to the north.

More pertinent to our query are the accounts of Bāklā (south and east of Bākarganj) by Ralph Fitch (1582) and the island of Sandvip by Caesar Frederick (1563–1581). Both the places are described as flourishing centres of commerce and civilization.[1]

It is also not without interest to the solution of the problem, that we have categorical references to whosesale destruction and depopulation within the area. A few of these are noted below:

1. The whole of Sundarbans to the south and south-east of Bākarganj are marked on Rennell's map as 'deserted on account of the ravages of the Mughs'.

2. 'Between 1621 and 1624 the Portuguese brought to Chittagong 42,000 slaves from Sundarbans'.[2]

3. F. Bernier observes as follows about the depredations by Portuguese pirates in Bengal.[3]

'With small and light half-galleys called galleasses they did nothing but sweep the sea on this side, and entering all rivers, canals, and arms of the Ganges, and passing between the islands of Lower Bengal often even penetrating as far as forty or fifty leagues into the interior—they surprised and carried off whole villages and harried the poor gentiles, and other inhabitants of this quarter at their assemblies, their markets, their festivals and weddings, seizing as slaves both men and women, small and great, perpetrating strange cruelties and burning all that they could not carry away. It is owing to this that at the present day are seen so many lovely but deserted isles at the mouth of the Ganges, once thickly populated, but now infested only by savage beasts, principally tigers.'

4. The old Dutch and Portuguese maps indicate villages and towns in the Sundarbans area and do not indicate in any way that in point of population and civilization this area was markedly inferior to the rest of Bengal. Blochmann remarks that these maps 'prove nothing'.[4] But these maps, read in the light of Bernier's observations, particularly the concluding portion, would seem to prove that the Sundarbans were once much more thickly populated than we are apt to imagine, and that the ruins in the area show, not 'attempts at colonization' but relapse into the primitive state by the depredations of pirates.

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[1] J.A.S.B., 1873, p. 230.
[2] Campos, J. J. A.—Portuguese in Bengal, p. 105.
[3] Ibid., pp. 162-3.
[4] J.A.S.B., 1873, pp. 231-2.

5. It is an admitted fact that within historical times many settlers of the southern part of Sundarbans—including the Raja of Chandradwip—moved towards the north on account of the Portuguese and Magh inroads.[1]

These considerations do not certainly favour the conclusion that the Sundarbans had always been what it is to-day, *viz.*, a thinly populated marshy region full of wild forests and frequented by wild animals. But at the same time we must suspend our final judgment about the nature and character of the human settlements in this region until more positive evidences are forthcoming. Such positive evidences are, however, few and far between. Reference may, however, be made in this connection to the four copperplates[2] discovered at Koṭālipāḍā in the District of Faridpur. These plates belong to the sixth century A.D. and contain sufficient indications that the marshy area near Gopalganj was once a flourishing seat of civilization and a centre of sea-borne trade and commerce. This conclusion is supported by occasional finds of gold coins of the Gupta period. In particular, this locality contained a big fort, which to judge from its present ruins measured about $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. There are grounds for the belief that the fort was originally constructed in the fourth century A.D.[3] The editor of one of these plates remarks:

'Koṭālipāḍā is at present surrounded on all sides by big marshes; it is inconceivable that any sane man could think of a royal settlement in such a water-logged area. But the big fort is there, and brick constructions very often come up unexpectedly from low water-logged places. As correctly surmised by some scholars, the low level of Koṭālipāḍā appears to be the effect of subsidence due to earthquake'.[4]

I need not pause to discuss whether the change is due to earthquake, or, what appears to me more probable, to changes in the courses of the deltaic rivers, which by depositing silts carried from uplands constantly raise the level of land in some areas and consequently make the other areas comparatively lower and water-logged. What is important for our present purpose is that here we have an instance, in a region not far from the Sundarbans and subject to the same depredations of man and nature, now populous and flourishing centres of civilization in the sixth century A.D. may be converted into water-logged marshes in course of a thousand years.

[1] Beveridge—District of Bakarganj, p. 171.

[2] Ind. Ant., 1910, pp. 193ff. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 74ff. A fifth plate has recently been discovered, and will shortly be edited by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali.

[3] Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 86.

[4] Ibid., p. 85.

What has taken place in Koṭālipāḍā might have been repeated in the other parts of deltaic regions in Lower Bengal. We have, therefore, no right to presume from the present physical and cultural conditions of Sundarbans area, that the same state of things prevailed in the ancient period.

We may conclude this study with a few general observations. We have seen above that great changes have taken place in the courses of some of the important rivers in Bengal during the last four or five hundred years. Judging from the extent of these changes we must presume the possibility of similar changes during the preceding centuries, though at present we have no means to determine the nature and extent of these changes. In other words, the courses of the rivers in Bengal during the ancient period, ending in 1200 A.D., might have been very different, not only from those of the present time, but even from those in the recent past for which we have some positive evidence. This point is to be borne in mind when we discuss any geographical question concerning ancient Bengal on the basis of river-frontiers. A concrete case will illustrate this point. Yaśodhara, the commentator of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, places Vaṅga to the east of the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra river. This has been interpreted to mean that Vaṅga included the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, *etc.*, *i.e.*, the territory to the east of the Brahmaputra-Jumna of the present day.[1] But as we have seen above, practically the whole of the district of Dacca (certainly the whole of Vikrampur) and a considerable portion of Mymensingh were to the west of the old course of the Brahmaputra, and as such must be excluded from Vaṅga if we accept the statement of Yaśodhara as correct.[2] It is, of course, not inconceivable that the present course of the Jamuna really represents an old bed of the Brahmaputra which it deserted many centuries ago and regained in the nineteenth century. Perhaps the Padmā offers a parallel example; for it is likely, as noted above, that while the Dhaleswari-Buriganga represent its early channel in the north and the Arialkhan its extreme deviation to the south, it has shown a tendency during the last hundred years to move steadily to the north towards its old channels. We cannot, therefore, discount altogether the possibility that the courses of some rivers in ancient Bengal might have been more akin to those of the present day than their known alterations during the recent past. But except where positive evidence of such changes is forthcoming it would be more reasonable to proceed on

[1] Studies in Indian Antiquities, by Dr. H. C. Raichaudhuri, p. 185.

[2] The statement can hardly be accepted as correct, for the Madanpāḍā copper-plate of Viśvarūpasena, also belonging to the thirteenth century A.D., shows that Koṭālipāḍā in the southern part of the Faridpur district was included in Vaṅga.

the assumption that the position of the rivers in ancient Bengal approximated more closely to the oldest courses or beds of rivers known to us than those which exist at the present day.

Appendix

The Bahāristān-i-Ghaybi, written by a Mughal Captain Mīrzā Nathan, throws a flood of light on the physical features of Bengal in 1608 A.D. The author gives a detailed account of the places visited by him in course of his campaign, and incidentally refers to the rivers he came across when he accompanied the forces of Islām Khān during the latter's expedition to Eastern Bengal. I cull the following information about the rivers of Bengal from the English translation of this book by Dr. M. I. Borah, M.A., Ph.D.

1. *The river Karatoyā.*—After his expedition to Ghoraghāt Islām Khān pitched his camp at Shāhzādapūr (p. 46) which is undoubtedly the modern Shajadpur in the Pabna district. The imperial fleet was also brought down along the Karatoyā river. It was arranged that the fleet would continue its journey until it reached the big river, while the land force, divided into two equal divisions, would march on two banks of the river.

The first important stage was Baliyā which Islām Khān reached by land-route in three marches. But owing to 'many a zigzag course of the river' Karatoyā, the fleet took fifteen days to reach the same place (p. 51). We are further told that 'the river Karatoyā was very narrow at this point' (p. 53). These references indicate that already at the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. the lower course of the Karatoyā corresponded to that indicated in Rennell's map and it was then a decaying if not a dying river.

Baliyā has been identified with Bowleah located in Rennell's Sheet Atlas No. 6, about seven miles S.W. of Shajadpur (p. 811), but this identification cannot be regarded as certain.

2. *The Padmā.*—But Baliyā must have been quite close to the 'big river' mentioned in the above passage. For the next morning the fleet reached the '*Trimohānā* or the confluence of three streams of the Khal Jogini' (p. 54), and after two marches the land forces reached the *Mohānā* of Katasgarh' (p. 54).

These Mohānās or confluences evidently indicate those of the big river which is almost certainly the Padmā, called in this book by its full name Padmavatī. Neither of the two confluences referred to above can be located with certainty, but Katasgarh was not probably far from Jaffargunge, in Rennell's map. This would indicate that the course of the Padmā, up to Jaffargunge, probably did not vary much from what is indicated in Rennell's map.

An indication of the course of the Padmā beyond Katasgarh is furnished by references to two places, 'Jatrapūr and Dākchara', which were the next objectives of the imperial army (pp. 56ff). Jatrapūr is a well-known place, shown in Rennell's map on the bank of the river Icchāmatī, and Dākchara has been identified with Dhakjara about three miles to the north-west of Jatrapūr (p. 812).

Now there are sufficient indications in the book that both these places were on the banks of the Padmā. It would suffice to quote one extract in respect of each.

(*a*) 'When it became night, Mūsā Khān went with all his Zamīndār allies to a place called Dākchara; during the night he constructed in this place a high fort and a deep trench on that bank of the river Padmavatī on which the imperial army was halting' (pp. 56-57).

(*b*) 'Islām Khān fell upon the fort of Jatrapūr, and the enemy, being unable to stand the attack, boarded their boats and crossed over to the other side of the river Padmavatī with a sorrowful heart and weeping eyes' (p. 64).

It appears that the river Isāmatī or the modern Ichhāmatī met the Padmā at or very near Jatrapūr. For the Mohānā (confluence) of the Isāmatī is said to be at Jatrapūr (p. 55), and Islām Khān crossed the river Isāmatī (p. 63) before attacking Jatrapūr and re-crossed it when marching to Dākchara (p. 64). In other words the river Ichhāmatī joined the Padmā at a point between these two places. But it was perhaps not a deep or broad river as Islām Khān's soldiers could cross it on elephant's back (p. 63).

It is thus evident that the course of the Padmā beyond Jaffargunge was very different in the seventeenth century A.D. from what is described in Rennell's map. In the latter the Padmā takes a sharp bend to the south at this point and its channel roughly corresponds to the Arialkhan. As indicated in the Bahāristān, the Padmā continued its south-eastern course, and it is important to note that the Arialkhan is mentioned as an independent river in the form Andal Khān (p. 28).

Unfortunately the Bahāristān does not give us very clear indication of the further course of the Padmā beyond Jatrapūr. And we can only make a guess from some casual references.

Before attacking the fort of Jatrapūr Islām Khān asked his officers at Dacca to send twenty imperial war-boats to the Mohānā of Kutharuiyā and the Mohānā of Kudaliyā (p. 63). It appears from the subsequent references to these places (pp. 70, 86) that the former was quite close to Jatrapūr and the latter not very far from Dacca on the bank of the Dhaleswari or close to it; the proposed

identification of Kutharuiyā with the Kirtināsā river (p. 812) being altogether out of the question.

Now Mohānā means the confluence of two rivers and in this part of the text the reference seems to be either to that of the Padmā and the Ichhāmatī, or of one of these with another river. If, therefore, we remember the definite statement of Tavernier that at Jatrapūr 'the Ganges divides into three branches, one of which goes to Dacca', we have either to suppose that the Padmā (at least one of its branches) flowed north of the Ichhāmatī river along roughly the Dhaleswari channel from Kutharuiyā to Kudaliyā, or to take the present Ichhāmatī river as a course of the Padmā. It is not improbable also that the former was the case in the early seventeenth century when Bahāristān-i-Ghaybi was written and the latter represents the change that took place half a century later in Tavernier's time. At the time of Bahāristān the Ichhāmatī does not appear to have been a big river, for as already noted it was crossed by the soldiers on elephant's back.

Unfortunately the further course of the Padmā beyond Jatrapūr is not mentioned in Bahāristān. It is probable that as a result of the division into three branches beyond Jatrapūr the Padmā ceased to be a big river and was called by different names. This conclusion is supported by the account of Islām Khān's advance to Dacca after the occupation of the fort of Dākchara on the bank of the Padmā. He first halted at Kutharuiyā (p. 70), and next morning reached Balra (p. 70). Having been informed that the enemy had a stronghold in that part of the country he sent a fleet to Kalākūpa which was occupied the next morning (p. 71). From Kalākūpa Islām Khān with other *Manṣabdārs* started for Dacca (p. 74) while the fleet and the artillery were sent by the river Isāmatī with instruction to proceed to the Mohānā of Pātharghāta. As usual, the land forces marched along both banks of the rivers, those on the left side of the fleet proceeding towards Kudaliyā (pp. 74-75).

Both Balra and Kalākūpa are now situated on the Ichhāmatī river. It is thus apparent that the river passed by Kalākūpa also at the time when the Bahāristān was composed. But this text is silent as to the time when Islām Khān left the bank of the Padmā and whether it was before or after he reached Balra. Nor is it clear by what route he himself marched to Dacca.

The Mohānā of Pātharghāta is presumably the place where the Ichhāmatī now joins the Dhaleswari, as there is still a place of that name at the confluence. But in that case it is difficult to accept the proposed identification of the route from Pātharghāta to Dacca. We are told that Islām Khān instructed the land and naval forces to proceed from Pātharghāta to Dacca 'by land and water *via*

Kawādharī canal' (p. 76). This canal has been identified with that running from Rasulpur on the Ichhāmatī to Paragong on the Dhaleswari (p. 814). But in that case we are to suppose that the forces retraced their steps along the Ichhāmatī for more than ten or fifteen miles and there is no valid reason for this roundabout journey. It is, however, just probable that the canal joined a place marked Guadery on Rennell's map on the Dhaleswari with Dacca, and in that case the forces followed the course of the Dhaleswari from Pātharghāta.

Regarding Dacca and its environs the topography given in Bahāristān is very different from what we find at the present day. The river on which Dacca is situated is called Dulāy. At present this river is called Buriganga which runs almost due east up to Fatulla and then turning south falls into the Dhaleswari. But in those days this river, called Dulāy, flowing due east met the Lakhyā near Khiẓrpūr, a little above Narainganj. This is borne out by the two following passages:

(*a*) 'Mohānā of Khiẓrpūr which is the confluence of the rivers Dulāy and Lakhyā' (p. 78).

(*b*) 'Ihtimam Khān had come out of the river Dulāy and passing through the Lakhyā had proceeded to the thāna of Quadam Rāsūl (north of Narainganj) with his whole fleet' (p. 82).

As regards the position of Dacca we are told that its two forts were 'situated on either side of the Mohānā of the canal called Demrā khāl where the river Dulāy divides into two branches, one flowing towards Khiẓrpūr and the other towards Demrā' (p. 76). There is even now a small canal in the eastern part of Dacca town called the Dulai *khāl* which meets the Buriganga a little to the south of the Iron bridge over the canal. The locality on the other side of the canal is also called Dolaigunj. It would thus follow that at or about this point the river Dulāy, now called Buriganga, was divided into two branches, and the old name is still applied to one branch which has died out and is represented by a narrow canal. The two forts then must have been situated on the two sides of this canal, approximately at the sites now occupied by the Police Barrack on the eastern, and the residential quarters on its western side. There are some traces of the eastern fort even now, and recently, when the old bridge was replaced by a new one, huge blocks of stone were found at the bottom of the canal, which might have belonged to these forts.

It is interesting to note in this connection that near about Fatulla where the Buriganga now turns south to join the Dhaleswari, Rennell's map shows a small canal joining it with Lakhyā near Khiẓrpūr, and on two sides of this junction are indicated two forts

called old *kella* and Duapeka *kella*. The small canal undoubtedly represents the old bed of the Dulāy river. If we presume that there was a canal towards Demrā at this point or regard the portion of the Buriganga from the Dhaleswari to Fatulla as the headwaters of the Dulāy which branched off at this point into two streams, one going to Khiẓrpūr and the other *via* Dacca to Demrā, the two forts shown on Rennell's map might be taken as the two forts mentioned in the Bahāristān. In that case the town of Dacca or at least its outskirts must have extended further towards the east than it does now. But there are indications in the text in support of this conjecture. Reference is made to a 'Pagiri (Pakur) tree which stood midway between the fort of the Khān and the house of Mīrzā Nathan, on the boundary between old and new Dhāka' (p. 152). Rennell's map also marks a big tree at the eastern end of the modern town, near the point where the Dulai khāl falls into the Buriganga. If this is the tree intended, the old Dhāka must have begun at Dolaigunj and might have extended close up to Fatulla. But this view rests upon so many conjectures that while we may regard it as by no means an impossible one we should not attach much value to it so long as it is not supported by other evidences.

From the accounts given above it would appear that the Bahāristān mentions by name only the rivers Padmavatī, Isāmatī, Dulāy and Lakhyā in the account of the expedition of the imperial force from Jatrapūr to Dacca. We have already pointed out that there are reasons to believe that the course of the Padmā after Jatrapūr flowed to the north of the Ichhāmatī. If this presumption be correct we have to regard the Padmā as following more or less the channel of the lower course of the river now called Dhaleswari, which is nowhere mentioned in Bahāristān, although the imperial forces must have crossed it on their way to Dacca. The Stevenson Moore Committee held on independent grounds that the river Padmā at first flowed past Rampur Boalia, Chalan-Jhil, the Dhaleswari and the Buriganga rivers past Dacca into the Meghnā. The map of De Barros (*c.* 1550 A.D.) supports this view. The account of Bahāristān, as I have interpreted it, also leads to the same conclusion. In any case it is not in conflict with this view, though the Buriganga channel seems to have been deserted by that time in favour of the more southern bed represented by the Dhaleswari. The name Dulāi probably shows that it was still a second or subsidiary channel of the Padmā, and the name Vṛddha-Gaṅgā or Buḍīgaṅgā also points in the same direction, as Padmā gradually came to be recognized as the Ganges proper (as in Portuguese maps).

ON THE EDICTS OF AŚOKA

SOME POINTS OF INTERPRETATION

By B. M. BARUA

In interpreting the edicts of Aśoka it may be accepted as a fundamental axiom that the best light on the subject is the light which is obtained or obtainable from the records themselves. The literary parallels to the inscriptional texts are important as determining the literary convention to which the latter conform. The sidelights from other Indian epigraphs, Aśokan legends, foreign travels, and contemporary and earlier or later literary works may prove to be of an immense value, if these are utilized with caution and without credulity.

In reading through the edicts and inscriptions of Aśoka one cannot but be struck by the fact that their texts have followed the current methodology. In them, the *uddeśa*, thesis or bare statement of a proposition is followed by the *nirdeśa*, elaboration or elucidation. The variant readings, the restatements of the same thing, the cross-references and the *résumés* enable us to clear up many points without any external aid. As soon as the interpretation of a particular word, statement or passage is confirmed or corroborated by literary parallels, it attains fixity, which is otherwise impossible.

To illustrate the point: In R.E. II, Aśoka speaks of the trees (*vrachā*, *lukhāni*) that were planted for the use of cattle and men, while in P.E. VII, in speaking of the same humanitarian work, he typifies the shade-trees by the banyan (*nigohāni*). The two statements, read together, at once suggest that the banyan stands as the most typical of all shade-trees planted by Aśoka. Similarly it may be maintained that the mango-groves (*ambā-vaḍikā*), specifically mentioned in P.E. VII and the Queen's Edict, are meant to typify all fruit-gardens. In R.E. II, Aśoka speaks of the wells (*kūpā*) that were caused to be dug by him. The word *udupānāni* occurs just as a variant for *kūpā* (R.E. II, P.E. VII). In commenting on the word, *udapāna*, in a similar context in the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya (I. 5. 7), the scholiast, Buddhaghosa, correctly suggests that the meaning of this word is not confined to wells but extends also to stand for tanks, large and small (*udapānanti yaṃ kiñci pokkharaṇī-taḷākādi*); that, in other words, the *udapāna* is the most typical of all artificial water-reservoirs in the shape of wells and tanks. This

interpretation of the word is well suited to Aśokan purpose. In R.E. I, we have a specific mention of 'two peacocks' (*dvo morā*) and 'one deer' (*eko mago*) as the creatures daily slaughtered in Aśoka's royal kitchen for curry at the time when the edict was promulgated. The two words *mora* and *maga* occur in the Pāli Bhaya-bherava-sutta (Majjhima-nikāya, I) in a certain context, where, according to the scholiast, Buddhaghosa, the species, peacock or deer, stands for the genus.[1] Applying this suggestion to the Aśokan context, we can say that here the peacock typifies all edible birds and the deer, all edible quadrupeds (Cf. P.E. V).

In R.E. III, Aśoka, while stating the purposes of sending out his officials on quinquennial tours, says: *etāyeva athāya imāya dhammānusaṣṭiya yathā aṅāya pi kaṃmāya.* This is rendered by Hultzsch thus: 'for this very purpose, viz., for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business'. Bhandarkar follows the Dhauli text which reads: *athā aṃnāye pi kaṃmane hevaṃ imāye dhaṃmānusathiye* and renders the statement: 'for this purpose (for the instruction of Dhaṃma) as for other business'. As Mookerji puts it, the statement reads: 'as well for other business too as for this purpose, for this religious instruction'.

Evidently then none of the three scholars have laboured to consider the king's statement as in the Girnār and three other texts with reference to matters in R.E. II or the king's command regarding *anusaṃyāna* (official tours) as in R.E. III. Obviously, the statement consists of three clauses: 'for that very purpose', 'for the imparting of moral instruction' (as intended in R.E. III) and 'as well for other business' (not specified in R.E. III).

According to the Pāli scholiast, Buddhaghosa, the purposes of *anusaṃyāna* were twofold: (1) humanitarian, the performance of certain works of public utility (e.g., erection of rural abodes, construction of bridges, excavation of tanks, founding of rest-and-alms-houses);[2] (2) administrative (*janapada-anusāsana*). The works of public utility are precisely like those stated in R.E. II. Under the second purpose of *janapada-anusāsana*, Aśoka enjoined also the administering or imparting of elementary moral instruction.

Going by the above suggestion, one may point out that the first clause, 'for that very purpose', refers to the humanitarian works specified in R.E. II; the second clause, 'for the imparting of moral instruction', to matters specified in R.E. III, and the third clause, 'as well for other business', to purely administrative work (un-

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[1] *Moragahaṇena ca idha sabbapakkhigahaṇam adhippetaṃ. Sabbacatuppadānaṃ hi idha mago nāmaṃ.*

[2] Barua, *Asoka Edicts in New Light*, p. 34.

specified but well understood by the officers concerned).[1] Even if, in the alternative, we choose to interpret the first clause with reference to the context of R.E. III alone, it should be taken, in my opinion, to refer to the duty of sending out officers of all grades by their superiors on periodical tours.

Referring to R.E. IV, I am to observe that a wrong punctuation of its text has so far proved to be a palpable cause of its misconstruction. In it, Aśoka states: *Ta aja Devānaṃpiyasa Priyadasino rāño dhaṃma-caraṇena bherī-ghoso aho dhaṃmaghoso vimāna-darsaṇā ca hasti-dasaṇā ca agikhaṃdhāni ca añāni ca divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janaṃ yārise bahūhi vāsa-satehi na bhūta-puve tārise aja vaḍhite Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāño dhaṃmānusasṭiyā anāraṃbho . . . . . thaira-susrusā.*

Hultzsch and other editors have arbitrarily put a full-stop after *dasayitpā janam* in utter disregard of the grammatical construction of the sentence or clause which is completed with *bherīghoso aho dhaṃmaghoso.* The next sentence or clause begins with *vimāna-darsaṇā* and ends in *thaira-susrusā.* Of the two statements, the second is intended to serve as a *nirdeśa* to the *uddeśa* in the first: *rāño dhaṃma-caraṇena bherīghoso aho dhaṃmaghoso*', 'by the practice of *dhamma* (piety and morality) on the part of the king the sound of the drum has become the sound of dhamma'. The second statement must accordingly read: 'By exhibiting to the people the celestial mansions, the (celestial) elephant, the fiery and other celestial (artistic) forms so much [of Dhamma] during many hundred years, in the past, could not be increased as has been done to-day by moral instructions on the part of His Gifted Majesty and Grace the king, viz. the non-sacrificial slaughter of living creatures, the non-harming of living beings, etc.'.

Reading the second statement (serving as *nirdeśa*) together with the first (serving as *uddeśa*), one may easily make out that here 'the sound of drum' symbolizes popular demonstrations of religion, and 'the sound of Dhamma' stands for the imparting of moral or religious instruction. The second statement is to set forth a contrast between the effects of the two methods. And reading this statement with reference to the preamble and body of P.E. VII, one may suggest that the first method of promoting the cause of *Dhaṃma* (piety and morality) among the people was tried with insufficient effect by the former kings of India.[2]

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[1] Cf. S.R.E. I.

[2] Author's view is noticed by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri in his Political History of Ancient India, 4th ed., p. 282, f.n. 2.

In R.E. V, Aśoka while speaking of the special functions of the Dharma-mahāmātras, says: *Bhaṭamayesu baṃbhanibhesu anāthesu vudhesu vyāpatā te.* 'They are employed among the *bhaṭamayas* the *baṃbhanibhas*, the helpless and the aged.' The first two words are rendered by Smith: 'Among servants and masters, Brahmans and rich'; by Hultzsch: 'with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas (Vaiśyas, Bühler)': by Mookerji: 'among the soldiers and their chiefs, Brahmanical ascetics and householders'; by Bhandarkar: 'among the Brāhmaṇs and Gṛihapatis who have become hirelings'.

All of them have missed the real meaning of the two words, partly or wholly. In P.E. VII, Aśoka restates the same fact in a slightly different context and in a different wording. Here, too, occur four words corresponding to the four words in R.E. V. Here for *vudhā* or *mahalakā*, we have *vayo mahalakā*; for *anāthā*, *kapana-valākā* ('the poor and distressed'); and *ex hypothesi*, for *bhaṭamayā*, *dāsa-bhaṭakā*; for *baṃbhanibhā*, *bābhana-samanā*.

In establishing a correspondence between *bhaṭamayā* and *dāsa-bhaṭakā* and that between *baṃbhanibhā* and *bābhana-samanā*, one has got to show that the word *mayā* or *amayā* may be taken to mean 'slaves' and the word *ibhā*, to mean 'recluses (*samaṇā*)'. As for *mayā* or *amayā* in the sense of *dāsā* or slaves, reference may be had to the Vidhurapaṇḍita-Jātaka (Fausböll, Jātaka, VI, p. 285), where the first kind of slaves is described as *āmāyadāsā* or slaves born of slave parents (*dāsassa dāsiyā kucchimhi jātadāsā*). In Aśokan use, a particular class stands for all classes of slaves. And as regards *ibbhā* and *samaṇā*, we find that in the Pāli Canon (Dīgha-Nikāya, I, p. 90), the *samaṇas* are contemptuously called *ibbhā* (*muṇḍakā samaṇakā ibbhā kiṇhā bandhupādajātā*). This may warrant us to suggest that in Aśokan usage, the word *ibbhā* denoted the recluses other than Brahmanical ascetics, just as the word *pāsaṃḍā* denoted the sects, without the least suggestion of contempt or opprobrium.

The expression *vyūthena* 256 in M.R.E. constitutes an enigma in the edicts of Aśoka. Various suggestions have been offered by the Aśokan scholars to bring out its true significance.

The choice lies so far between '256 days (or nights) spent by the person (or officer) sent on tour', and '256 (years) by the passing of centuries'. The idea of dating in terms of a known era is suggested on the authority of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (II, 6, 7) in which *vyuṣṭa* is defined as a technical term denoting the regnal year, month, fortnight and day. The idea of the nights spent is elicited from the Sahasrām text which reads: *Iyaṃ ca sāvane* [*sāvāpite*] *vivuthena duve sapaṃnālāti satā vivuthā ti* 200 50 6. There is no escape from this interpretation until and unless one succeeds in getting rid of the

word *lāti* or *rātri* in the sense of 'nights'. One may be allowed to assume indeed that what is indicated by a numerical figure is also expressed in words, and that here no additional fact is intended to be brought out. This allowed, we will have no other alternative but to take *sapaṃnālāti* as a combination of *sapaṃna* and *alāti* (arāti), and to render the whole expression thus: 'two hundred together with fifty and *arātis* (i.e., six)'[1]. The only difficulty in the way of doing this is to prove that this system of representation of a numeral by an enumerative word-symbol was in vogue in Aśokan times.

Reading the concluding portion of M.R.E. (Rūpanāth and Sahasrām copies), with that of the Schism Pillar Edict (Sārnāth copy), one may at last reasonably suggest that by the enigmatic expression *vyūthena* 256 was meant neither the number of nights spent, nor that of years elapsed, nor even that of missioners employed, but only that of the copies of the particular proclamation sent out from the capital to different places, stations or centres. Accordingly, the whole statement may be rendered: '[When] this proclamation was caused to be made by despatch, two hundred fifty-six [scheduled copies thereof] were despatched'.

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[1] According to Mookerji (*Asoka*, p. 115), *sapaṃnālāti* = *sapaṃnā* + *ati*, the syllable *la* being only an *āgama* in Sandhi, just as in the Sandhi of *cha* and *asīti* = *chaḷāsīti*. But the analogy is inapt, for in the Sandhi, *cha* + *asīti* = *chaḷāsīti*, *cha* = skt. *ṣaṭ*. On the latest interpretation of *vyuṭha* in the sense of a date in terms of the then current Buddha era, vide Mr. H. C. Seth's article on 'Buddha Nirvāna and some other dates' in *I.C.*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 315.

CONTEMPORANEITY OF THE KINGS OF INDIA AND CEYLON[1]

By BIMALA CHURN LAW

The late lamented Dr. Wickremasinghe's 'Chronological Table of Ceylon kings'[2] has been followed by Dr. Wilhelm Geiger's suggestive list of synchronisms between the kings of Ceylon on the one hand and those of India, China and Burma on the other.[3] As Geiger points out, the main drawback of Wickremasinghe's table lies in the fact that he 'makes no attempt at reconciling the two chronological computations of 483 B.C. and 544/3 B.C.'.[4] In this paper I propose to consider the acceptability of Geiger's list of synchronisms between the kings of India and Ceylon in the light of some relevant facts that have escaped his attention with a view to rectifying or supplementing it.

The first traditional synchronism to be noted is one between the landing of Vijaya on the island of Laṅkā and the demise of the Buddha. This synchronism establishes the contemporaneity of Vijaya, the first Indian king of Ceylon, and Ajātasattu, the king of Magadha.[5]

Next an unbroken line of Ceylon kings, all successors of Vijaya, is recorded in all the extant chronicles of Ceylon in order to establish the synchronism between the consecration of Devānaṁpiyatissa as king of Ceylon and the 18th year of Asoka's reign. Taking 483 B.C. to be the date for the Buddha's demise, one gets the year 247/6 B.C. as Devānaṁpiyatissa's coronation year, and it confirms his contemporaneity with the great Asoka of India.[6]

The third point of synchronism noted by Geiger is one between the reign of Samudragupta, the king of India, and that of Sirimeghavaṇṇa, the king of Ceylon.[7] The former reigned from 326 to about 375 A.D., and the latter from 362 to 389 A.D. According to a notice quoted by Sylvain Levi[8] from Chinese sources, a king

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1 Read at the Indian History Congress held in Calcutta.

2 Epigraphia Zeylanica, III, pp. 1ff.

3 Geiger, Cūḷavaṁsa, P.T.S., Transl. Series, No. 20, Introd., pp. xvi ff.

4 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. iv.

5 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

6 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

7 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

8 Sylvain Levi, Les Missions de Wang Hiuen Ts'edans l'Inde in J.A.S., 1900, pp. 401ff.

of Ceylon Chi-mi-kia-po-mo (Śrī Meghavarman, Siri Meghavaṇṇa) sent an embassy to the Indian king Samudragupta (San-meon-to-lo-kiu-to) asking permission to erect a monastery at Mahabodhi (Bodh Gaya) for the accommodation of Buddhist monks from Ceylon.[1] Though the name of the Sinhalese king is not mentioned, the fact of erection of a large and magnificent monastery at Bodh Gaya by a king of Ceylon for the residence of the Sinhalese monks is attested by Hiuen Tsang.[2] The plinth of this monastery survives to the present day.[3]

The fourth point of synchronism to be noted, according to Geiger, is one between the death of a very eminent śramaṇa of the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon and the arrival in the island of Fa-Hien from India.[4] Geiger places this synchronism in the reign of Mahanama, the king of Ceylon (409–431 A.D.),[5] and takes the śramaṇa mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim to be no other than the saintly Dhammakathin who had translated the Pali Sutta Piṭaka into Sinhalese during the reign of king Buddhadāsa[6] (362–409 A.D.).[7] The suggested synchronism, if accepted, will make the three kings of Ceylon, Buddhadāsa, Upatissa I, and Mahānāma, the contemporaries of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta during whose reign Fa-Hien visited India and Ceylon.[8]

Referring to Mahānāma's reign, Geiger observes 'for Mahānāma's reign Chinese sources furnish us with an exact date A.D. 428.[9] For the arrival of Buddhaghosa in the reign of Mahānāma tradition furnishes us with a date which assuming 544/3 as the year of the Nirvāṇa, yields 412/3 A.D.'[10]

Granted this, one has got to admit that arrivals of Fa-Hien and Buddhaghosa in Ceylon took place almost in the same year, which,

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[1] Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. v.

[2] Beal, Records, II, pp. 134-5; Watters, On Yuan Chwang, II, p. 136. Fa-Hien noticed three monasteries at Bodh Gayā, one of which is taken by Barua (Gayā and Buddha Gayā, I, pp. 149-150, 178) to be the monastery built by the king of Ceylon.

[3] Cunningham, Mahabodhi, pp. 5–7. Pl. II; Barua, Gayā and Buddha Gayā, I, p. 192; II, p. 26, Fig. 23.

[4] Geiger, *op. cit.*, pp. xvii ff.

[5] Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

[6] Cūḷavaṁsa, xxxvii, 175:
Tass'eva rañño rajjamhi Mahādhammakathī yati suttāni parivattesi Sīhalāya niruttiyā.

[7] Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

[8] According to Geiger, Fa-Hien went to Ceylon 411-412 A.D., *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

[9] Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xviii.

[10] Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xviii. Note that the Cūḷavaṁsa does not mention the date of Buddhaghosa's arrival in Ceylon. According to Ceylonese tradition, Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon in 965 A.B., Malalasekera, Pali Literature of Ceylon, p. 81.

as I may maintain, is altogether unlikely. Fa-Hien indeed records that when he was residing in Ceylon, he heard a Buddhist priest from India reciting a sacred book and narrating the course of transmigration of an alms-bowl of the Buddha from country to country. The countries mentioned include even the western Yu-chi, Khotan and Kouché. The description leaves no room for doubt that the Buddhist priest from India was a śramaṇa of the Mahāyāna faith,[1] while Buddhaghosa was avowedly a Theravādin or Hinayānist. This Indian monk is evidently no other than Guṇabhadra, a noted scholar, of the Mahāyāna school,[2] who on his way to China visited Ceylon.[3] Guṇabhadra came to China in 435 A.D. and worked on translations till 443 A.D.[4]

The Cūḷavaṁsa account of Buddhaghosa's arrival in, and departure from Ceylon, during the reign of Mahānāma [5], seems guilty of an anachronism. Buddhaghosa in the Nigamana to his Vinaya-commentary, says that he commenced his work in the 20th year and completed it in the beginning of the 21st year of the reign of king Sirinivāsa Siripāla.[6] Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta has failed to give any convincing proof of the identity of Mahānāma and Sirinivāsa Siripāla.[7] The Cūḷavaṁsa account is in many respects nullified by the internal evidence of Buddhaghosa's own works.[8] It cannot tell us precisely from which part of India he came to Ceylon,[9] while Buddhaghosa himself tells us that when he was residing in Kāñcīpura and such other places in South India, he was urged to go to Ceylon. The Cūḷavaṁsa gives the name of the Thera under whose instruction he went to Ceylon as Revata,[10] while Buddhaghosa himself mentions him by the name of Bhadanta Jotipāla.[11]

Among the kings of Ceylon incidentally mentioned by Buddhaghosa, Muṭasiva, Devānaṁpiyatissa, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya[12],

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1 Beal, Records, i, pp. lxxviii ff.
2 Nanjio, Catalogue, pp. 415-16.
3 Taisho edition of the Vimuttimaggo in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, 50. 344*a*. 18.
4 Bapat, Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga, Introd., p. xvi.
5 Cūḷavaṁsa, xxxvii, 246-7.
6 'Rañño Siri-nivāsassa Siripāla-yasassino
Samavisatime kheme jayasaṁvacchare ayam
araddhā, ekavīsumhi sampatte pariniṭṭhitā.'
7 Such as the composition of the Ñāṇodaya and the Atthasālinī, a commentary on the Dhammasangaṇi before his leaving India for Ceylon.
8 Cūḷavaṁsa, xxxvii, 216-17, indefinitely refers to a vihāra in India.
9 *Ibid.*, xxxvii, p. 249.
10 Cūḷavaṁsa, xxxvii, 218.
11 Maṇoratha-pūranī, Nigamana:
'Āyācito sumatinā therena Bhadanta-Jotipālena
Kāñcīpurādisu mayā pubbe saddhim vasantena.'
12 Atthasālinī, p. 80.

and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, all reigned in pre-Christian times. The reign of Coranāga,[1] son and successor of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, is reckoned by Geiger from 6 B.C. to 9 A.D. King Mahānāga, noted for his 'magnificent gifts in connection with the art of healing at Penambarigana',[2] may be identified either with Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (67–79 A.D.)[3] or with Mahallanāga (196–202 A.D.),[4] more probably with the former.[5] He has mentioned none whose reign might be assigned to a period beyond the third century A.D.

And among the Indian kings, those who find mention in his writings and who may be taken to stand nearer to his age are the Sātavāhanas[6] and the Rudradāmans; there is none belonging to the Gupta and later Ages. The Rudradāmans come in connection with a new type of Indian coins, called Ruddadāmaka and standardized by them,[7] evidently in the days of Buddhaghosa.

It may perhaps be suggested without any great risk that Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon either during the reign of Sirināga I (249–270 A.D., assuming 21 years as the length of his reign),[8] who was a contemporary of some king of the line of Rudradāman I and Caṣṭana, or during that of Sirimeghavaṇṇa (362–380 A.D.), who was a contemporary of Samudragupta and Rudradāman II (348–364 A.D.). The second alternative is more acceptable on the ground that Buddhaghosa has quoted the Dīpavaṁsa[9] which brings the chronicle of Ceylon kings to a close with the reign of Mahāsena (334–361/2 A.D.), the father and predecessor of Sirimeghavaṇṇa.

Now, according to the Buddhaghosuppatti and Buddhadatta's Vinaya-vinicchaya, Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta were contemporaries.[10] Buddhadatta in the Nigamana to his three works, states that he wrote those works during the reign of Accuta Vikkanta or Accuta Vikkama of the Kaḷamba family, the king of Coḷa. Here the Pali Kaḷamba is not to be equated with Kadamba, for it stands for Kalabhra. As Professor Nilakanta Śāstrī points out, 'Accuta

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[1] Atthasālinī, p. 399.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 399. Penambangana is a different reading.

[3] Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. x.

[4] Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. x.

[5] The identification of Mahānāga with Buddhadāsa, father of Mahānāma in my *Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, p. 22, is untenable.

[6] Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Pt. I, p. 302.

[7] C. D. Chatterjee, Some Numismatic Data in Pali Literature in my *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 384ff.

[8] Mahāwanse, Edward Upham's transl., p. 229. According to the Pali *Mahāvaṁsa*, 19 years.

[9] Kathavatthu-Comy., Introd.

[10] My Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, p. 43.

could have been no other than the king of the same name who is reputed in literary tradition to have kept in confinement the three Tamil kings, the Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya'.[1]

Thus the contemporaneity of Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta may be taken to establish the contemporaneity of Sirinivāsa Siripāla, the king of Ceylon, and Accuta Vikkanta, the king of Coḷa.

A notable omission on the part of Geiger is that of the fact of a matrimonial connection established by Vijayabāhu I (*c.* 1054–1109 A.D.),[2] through his marriage with Tilokasundarī, a highly accomplished Indian princess, born of the royal family of Kaliṅga,[3] serving as a chronological basis of contemporaneity of the Indian and Sinhalese kings. An attempt has recently been made on the evidence of the Belava copper-plate of king Bhojavarman of the Vaiṣṇava Varman dynasty of East Bengal that Tilokasundarī, the second queen of king Vijayabāhu I, mentioned in the Cūḷavaṁsa, is not other than Trailokyasundarī praised in the Belava plate as the daughter of king Sāmalavarman the father and immediate predecessor of Bhojavarman. It is rightly pointed out that in the Belava copper-plate the Varmans of East Bengal claim to have their descent from the royal family of Simhapura, and Bhojavarman expresses in pathetic terms his solicitude for the contemporary Ceylon king in his difficulties arising from an inimical action on the part of the *rākṣasas*. Once the personal relationship between Bhojavarman and Vijayabāhu I, is assumed as a historical fact, it becomes easy to understand why the former should express this solicitude for the lord of Laṅkā.[4] It is evident from a Manimaṅgala inscription of 1053 A.D. that the Coḷa kings of the age were bringing heavy pressure to bear upon the kings of Ceylon.[5] The possibility of the matrimonial connection of the Ceylon king Vijayabāhu I, with the Varmans of East Bengal lies in the fact that Vijayabāhu and his successors themselves felt proud in claiming their descent from the royal family of Simhapura which was most probably a place in Kaliṅga.[6]

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[1] The Coḷas, p. 121.

[2] According to Geiger, 1059–1114 A.D.

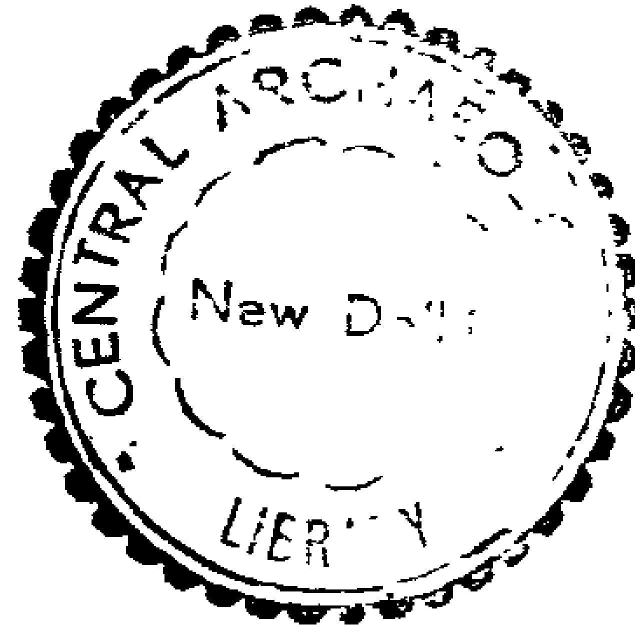
[3] Cūḷavaṁsa, lix, 29ff.

[4] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, pp. 19ff.; Pramodelal Paul in Indian Culture, July, 1939, pp. 58-59.

[5] The actual fact stated is that the Coḷa king Parakeśarīvarman *alias* Rājendradeva imprisoned two sons of the Ceylon king Manabharṇa (Mānābharaṇa or Mānabhūṣaṇa of the Cūḷavaṁsa). It is still open to dispute if the Manabharṇa-Mānābharaṇa of the inscription may be identified with Mānābharaṇa, mentioned in the Cūḷavaṃsa, as one of the two nephews of Vijayabāhu I. He is nowhere mentioned as a king.

[6] Hultzsch. JRAS., 1913, p. 518, E.I., XII, p. 4; H. C. Ray, The Dynastic History of Northern India, I, pp. 333-34.

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